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THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
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TRAVELS

IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE

EAST;

MORE PARTICULARLY

PERSIA.

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A work wherein the Author has described, as far as his own Observations extended, the State of those Countries in

1810, 1811, AND 1812;

and has endeavoured to illustrate many subjects of

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH,

History, Geography, Philology and Miscellaneous Literature, with extracts from rare and valuable Oriental Manuscripts.

BY SIR WILLIAM OUSELEY, KNIGHT, LL. D.

Honorary Fellow of the Royal Societies of Edinburgh, Gottingen and Amsterdam; Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Rostock; Member of the Asiatick Society of Calcutta, and of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle; and

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GORE OUSELEY, BARONET, K. L. S.

HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY AT THE COURT OF PERSIA.

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TO

SIR GORE OUSELEY,

BARONET;

GRAND CORDON OF THE ROYAL PERSIAN ORDER

OF THE

LION AND SUN;

GRAND CROSS OF THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN ORDER

OF

SAINT ALEXANDER NEWSKI;

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,

AND

OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES;

MEMBER OF THE ASIATICK SOCIETY AT CALCUTTA,

AND

OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

AT ST. PETERSBURGH;

THIS WORK

IS DEDICATED,

As a Tribute of Gratitude, Respect and Brotherly Affection,

BY

WILLIAM OUSELEY.

Crickhowel, South Wales,
April, 1819.

PREFACE.

BESIDES an account of transactions, such as travellers commonly notice in their journals; descriptions of extraordinary ceremonies, and of remarkable objects; anecdotes of eminent personages; relations of publick occurrences and of private adventures; and observations on men and manners; this work comprises many subjects of discussion which the title-page has already indicated more fully, perhaps, than is consistent with typographick elegance. But this I have willingly sacrificed, being desirous that these volumes, at their very commencement, should announce, both positively and negatively, what a reader may expect from the perusal of them. If they yield but little gratification to the lover of Zoology, Botany or Mineralogy, he must recollect that respecting those sciences no professions had been made; and he will find that I have, in several places, lamented my own ignorance. Yet on those and other important branches of Natural History, this work is not wholly without information; derived either from rare Manuscripts, or from verbal communications well authenticated. But few can hope to satisfy all readers; since many deem unin-

teresting what others seek most eagerly in a work; according to the opposite directions of their respective studies, and the natural diversity of tastes(1).

In the early part of this first volume, *Antiquarian Research*, which the title-page offers so conspicuously to view, has on two or three occasions interrupted, though not materially, the narrative of my travels. It is difficult to repress a favourite topick; but I have generally placed such subjects as digressed to the extent of many pages, among miscellaneous articles in the Appendix; or given them under titles sufficiently explaining their contents, as distinct chapters, the perusal of which is not absolutely necessary for those more inclined to proceed with a traveller on his journey, than to pause and cast a retrospective glance at the monuments of former ages(2).

(1) Thus in one of our respectable Reviews, a traveller whose work has been favourably received, is pronounced not qualified for such a journey as he lately performed, from his ignorance of Mineralogy. *Still more, (horresco referens!)* a distinguished writer, Mr. Pinkerton (Geogr. Vol. III. p. 858 and 859, edit. 1807), regrets that Shaw was so zealous an Antiquary, and thinks that Otter introduced too many quotations from Oriental Geographers; the very circumstances that so strongly recommended those travellers to Pankhurst, Vincent, and others.

(2) In this first Volume, the third chapter may be reckoned among those digressions; it is given, however, in an early part, for the sake of subsequent reference, concerning the ancient Fire-worshippers, and their descendants, called in India, *Pársis*(پارسي); and by the *Musulméns* of Persia contemptuously styled *Gabrs*(گبر); a term explained in the third chapter.

History, Geography, and Philology, the intimate and indispensable associates of Antiquarian Research, constitute a frequent subject of these pages, in which I have been enabled to illustrate some interesting and doubtful points by extracts from numerous Manuscripts, both Arabick, and ancient as well as modern Persian, preserved in my own collection. Of some Manuscripts among these, more particularly noticed hereafter, there are not, I have reason to believe, any second copies known in Europe.

The body of this work contains such brief geographical remarks as were the result of personal inquiries and local observations, made, more especially, on those expeditions which I performed when detached from our embassy, both in the Southern and Northern parts of Persia, and on my way from that country through Armenia and Turkey, to Constantinople and Smyrna(*). But some notes taken on the spot, and afterwards augmented by quotations from Greek and Roman, from Oriental and from modern European authors, having almost assumed the form of regular essays, are given, like the Antiquarian digressions above-

(*) Thus in 1812 when I visited *Fasá* (فسا) or *Pasá* (پسا), the supposed Pasagarda; and *Dárábgird* (دارابگرد) near the borders of Carmania or *Kirmán* (کرمان); and returned by way of the great Salt Lake of *Bakhtegán* (بختگان) or of *Núra* (نیریز) not known to the ancients; and passed some time among the ruins of Persepolis called by modern Persians *Takht i Jemshíd* (تخت جمشید) the "Throne or royal residence of king JEMSHI'D."

mentioned, either in the Appendix, or under the heads of distinct chapters(4).

My quotations of Eastern Manuscripts are numerous, and the extracts copied with minute accuracy. It would, indeed, have satisfied myself, and, probably, most of my readers, in cases where no argument or hypothesis demanded more, had the general sense of an Arabick or Persian passage, and the author's name or title of his work, been given, without an exact transcript of the original text. But having observed some suspicion excited against a respectable contemporary writer, from his vague mode of reference to Manuscripts, often without any particular designation of authors or works; I resolved to place before my reader the original passages, thereby enabling him (if an Orientalist) to judge whether my translations accord with his notions of accuracy; and here may be offered a remark (not by any means very new), which will justify both him and me should we differ in our interpretations; the Eastern languages are liable to ambiguity in a most perplexing degree(5).

(4) So are disposed the remarks on *Mázenderán* (مازندران) or Hyrcania; on the Caspian Sea; and on the *Pylæ Caspiæ*, or Caspian Straits; likewise many sections in which Geography concurs with History, Philology, and Antiquarian Research: as the accounts of Persepolis, of *Rei* (ری) "Rages, a city of Media," Tobit, ch. I. 14), of the River Euphrates; and other articles.

(5) This ambiguity may, in some instances, be imputed, not so much to the nature of Eastern languages, as to the inaccuracy of transcribers. Before the true sense of a single passage can be ascertained, it is often necessary to examine most atten-

From Arabick, Persian and Turkish works, already printed, and in the hands of every Orientalist, my extracts are but few; I purposely introduce to the reader such Eastern compositions as have not yet passed through the press; and these are generally distinguished in quotations by the letters MS. prefixed to the titles of each. When, as in some passages, a mere reference is made to any particular author or manuscript, the reader must understand that another part of this work will present the original text.

The quotations from European writers may seem more frequent and copious than is necessary for those who, in the publick or private libraries of this country, find easy access to printed books; and for whom an indication of title, volume, page and edition, would have been perfectly suffi-

tively, several copies of the same work; each perhaps, furnishing a variety of readings; some half corroded by time, or nearly illegible through accidental injury; others written in a difficult or uncouth hand; or deficient in those diacritical points which so essentially regulate the orthography of proper names; and on which, indeed, the meaning of a whole passage frequently depends. The drudgery of collating such Manuscripts can scarcely be comprehended by those accustomed solely to books printed in European languages, with the beauty, uniformity of character, and the correctness that Typography imparts. In collating even my own four copies of the *Sháh Námah* (شاه نامه) or "Book of Kings," (composed eight hundred years ago by FIRDAUSI (فردوسي) who has been styled the Persian Homer) I find, at an average, nearly thirty various readings in every page; each copy is a folio volume, (three of them very beautifully written), containing above 60,000 distichs, or between 120,000 and 130,000 lines, which occupy from one thousand to eleven hundred pages. The printing of this immense work, a task of Herculean labour, and enormous expense, was begun not many years ago, at Calcutta; but, as I have lately heard with much concern, has been since discontinued.

ficient. But it is not improbable, (I speak from my own experience during a tedious voyage), that such multifarious extracts may afford considerable gratification, and perhaps instruction, to those who on board ship are necessarily precluded from much variety in their intellectual enjoyments; and even our numerous fellow-countrymen in Asia, widely as literature is now diffused among them, may be pleased to find immediately before their eyes, passages faithfully quoted from authors whose works they might long seek in vain throughout the Eastern world. Nay, many persons in this country, who, like myself, have retired into rural seclusion, may not happen to possess, though masters of well-furnished libraries, all the books from which extracts are here given.

In the notes interspersed (and with no sparing hand) throughout the following pages, many words and phrases not familiar to European readers, are explained, generally on their first occurrence. But concerning one term a reference has been made to the preface; it is therefore necessary in this place to observe that, although some Eastern writers whose manuscript works I have elsewhere quoted, (Pref. to Ebn Haukal's Orient. Geogr. pp. xxiii, xxiv), describe with much precision the itinerary measure called *parsang* or *farsang* by the Persians, and corruptly *farsakh* by the Arabians; yet others acknowledge a considerable difference of opinion respecting its extent; and mention various provin-

cial estimates, (ib. p. xxiii). Thus in former ages we find much uncertainty on this subject. Herodotus (lib. v. c. 53); Xenophon (Anab. lib. ii. c. 5); and Hesychius (Lexic. in voce) represent the Persian *parasang* as equivalent to thirty *stadia*, (and we may allow eight stades to a mile). But Strabo declares that it was rated by some at sixty and by others at thirty and at forty stades, "τὴν δὲ παρασάγγην τὸν Περσικὸν &c. (Geogr. lib. xi). This vagueness is confirmed by the evidence of Pliny; "Inconstantiam mensuræ diversitas autho-"rum facit, cum Persæ quoque schœnos et parasangas alii "alia mensura determinent." (Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 26). And in the sixth century, as we learn from Agathias, the Iberians and Persians had reduced the parasang to one and twenty *stadia*. "Οἱ δὲ νῦν Ἴβηρες καὶ Πέρσαι φασὶν ἐν ἑνὶ μόνῳ τῶν εἴκοσι πλέθρα." (Hist. lib. ii). The modern *farsang* is computed by Rennell as "being, at a mean, little short of 3½ British miles," (Illustr. of Xenoph. &c. p. 4); while Francklin says it is "equal in measurement to nearly four English miles." (Tour to Persia, p. 17. Calcutta, 1788). Mr. Macdonald Kinneir in his Geography of Persia (p. 57), estimates it at three miles three quarters; and Captain Christie (See the Appendix to Mr. Pottinger's Travels in Beloochistan, p. 419), at three miles and seven eighths. My own opinion respecting this measure is expressed in p. 23.

The Arabick, Persian and Turkish words scattered throughout these Volumes, appear in their original charac-

ters, once at least; and generally where they first occur. With a very few exceptions in an early part, our English capitals serve to mark the names of persons; thus MOHAMMED (محمد); while the names of places are distinguished by Italicks, as (تبریز) *Tabríz*. On most occasions the system of Sir William Jones has been adopted, for expressing in our letters the Asiatick words(*); and respecting the Persian pronunciation I might, in general, refer my reader to the Essay just quoted, of that admirable linguist; who, in Bengal, from frequent conversations with native *Iránians*, (for the Persians denominate their own country *Irán* ایران) seems to have acquired nearly as just a notion of their proper accent and pronunciation, as if he had resided for years among them at *Shíráz* or *Ispahán*. He was well acquainted, also, with the difference between their pronunciation and the Indian; a difference justly compared by him to that which subsists in English discourse, between our polished courtiers of the South, and those pastoral swains who inhabit the northern portion of this island(†). My own knowledge

(*) See his "Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatick words," &c. in the Asiatick Researches, Vol. I. The reader will perceive that I have used *k* and not *c* to represent ک when *e* or *i* must follow in our letters, as *keh* که, not *ceh*. But further remarks are unnecessary as the Asiatick words are printed at least once, in their proper characters.

(†) "As the language of our court at *St. James's* differs from that of the rusticks in "the *Gentle Shepherd*," (Dissert. on the Orthogr. &c. Asiat. Res. Vol. I. p. 14, oct. edit. Lond. 1806). A remark must be here offered on the mode of spelling certain English words, adopted in the following pages. If the nearest approximation to ex-

of the Eastern tongues having been acquired wholly in Europe and from books, I had not any opportunity of comparing the true *Iránian* pronunciation with that most general in our Asiatick territories, until the year 1810, when a residence of some months with the Persian Envoy, Mírza' Abu'l Hassan, in London, enabled me to observe the chief points of difference, during conversations between him and many who had learned his language as spoken in India. The result of those observations confirmed by the coincident opinion of others (for not trusting solely to my own perception of sounds, I frequently consulted on this subject when in Persia, Englishmen who had passed several years in India) may be reduced under the following heads, sufficient, perhaps to indicate those points in which the difference is most perceptible. First the Persian sound of ی, like our *ee* or the Italian *i* in *morire*(*); secondly, the Persian sound

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cellence could perpetuate any system of orthography in our language, Dr Johnson's would never have become obsolete; and according to my own desire, it should have been used as a standard throughout this work. But the printer's remonstrances against a few words of uncouth appearance, have caused some deviations from the rules of that great Lexicographer. The final *k* is retained in *critick, classick*, &c. though *u* has been deducted from the last syllable of *authour, governour, superiour*, &c. I could not, however, admit *florish* for *flourish, honor* for *honour, odor* for *odour, endearor* for *endeavour*, &c.

(*) This (which I have generally expressed by an accented *i*) is, in many words, changed by the Indians into a sound like our *ai* in *hair*; *a* in *face*, or the *French é* in *frére*. Thus they pronounce the Persian *kích* or *keetch* (هیچ) "none, nothing," *shír* or *sheer* (شیر) "a lion;" *píish* (پیش) "before;" as if written *kaitch, share, paish* &c. The Persians find some difficulty in uttering this sound; one, a nobleman of my acquaintance, who had studied English with considerable success, could never pronounce *slave*; but, after many efforts, confounded it with *sleeve*.

expressed by و, like our *oo* in *boot*(9); thirdly that short vowel-accent of the Persians, like the sound of *a* in *man*, &c. and sometimes like the e in *emblem*(10).

It may be here remarked that in Persia, more especially in the Southern provinces, those who affect what they consider a mode of speaking extremely *shírín* (شیرین) or soft and melodious, pronounce the long *a* before *n* as the French *ou*, or English *oo*(11). But the long *a* properly sounded as

(9) The Persian و having the sound of our *oo* (which an accented ú serves to express throughout most part of this work) becomes very frequently, in Indian pronunciation like our broad *o* in *bold*, thus the Persian words *rúz* or *rooz* (روز) "a day," *kúh* or *kook* (کوه) "a mountain;" *rú* or *roo* (رو) "the face;" *búi* or *booi* (بوی) "a smell," are commonly pronounced by Indians, *roze*, *kok*, *ro*, *boi*, &c. This sound of the long *o* many Persians could scarcely comprehend, and their efforts to pronounce our word *boat*, generally produced *bout*; or *bát* with the vowel as in *ball*, *war*, &c. Even the و which in some words the Persians make a consonant, is prolonged by the Indian accent into a broad *ó*, thus *míravem* (میروم) "I am going," becomes *may róvum*.

(10) The vowel accent *zeber* (زبر) or *fathh* (فتح) has in Persian words the sound of *a* in *America*, or in *sun*, *cup*, &c. and sometimes of *e* in *elegant*; but this the Indians express like our short *u* in *cup*, *gun*, *butter*, &c. Thus for the Persian *bad* (بد our English word in sense and sound), *rang* (رنگ) "a colour;" *sag* (سگ) "a dog;" *bas* (بس) "enough," *sang* (سنگ) "a stone," *raft* (رفت) "he went," *haft* (هفت) "seven;" *garm* (گرم) "warm;" *sabz* (سبز) "green," *pedr* (پدر) "father," &c. we hear *bud*, *rung*, *sug*, *bus*, *sung*, *huft*, *ruft*, *gurm*, *subz*, *pudr*, &c. See Sir William Jones's remarks to this effect on *Samarcand* (سمرقند) *Tavríz* (تبریز) *Kamrúnd* (کمرند), &c. (Dissert. on Orthogr).

(11) Also in some few instances before *m*: I have often heard *Shákhnámah* (شاه نامه) pronounced *Shák noomeh*, *Khúshámedíd* (خوش امدید) "thou art welcome," *Khúsh oomedíd*: and even *isloom* used for the Arabick word *islám* (اسلام) signifying peace, salvation, the religion of true believers or Muselmáns, &c.

in our words *all*, or *war*, I have expressed by the italick *á*, in *kháneh* (خانه), a house; *ján* (جان) the soul or life; *kalián* (قليان) the water-pipe used in smoking tobacco; *ánjá* (انجا), there, in that place; *nemidánem* (نمي دانم) I do not know, &c. which most Persians pronounce as if written in our letters *khooneh; joon; kalioon; oonjáw; nemidoonem.* To avoid ambiguity, however, the title *Khán* (خان) is never sounded *khún* or *khoon*, as thereby it would be confounded with (خون) signifying "blood;" neither is this vitious pronunciation always observed in such words as close the lines of solemn poetry. But the fashion, I have reason to believe, is not by any means, a recent innovation. We may, perhaps, trace it back to ages long preceding the time when Kæmpfer, Angelo, Herbert, Fryer and other European travellers appear to have found it in Persia(13).

(13) The Jewish "Talmud," (that extraordinary work, of which the compilation began in the second century after Christ, and was finished in the year 500 or 505), exhibits a word of the old Persian language thus in Hebrew characters, טרכונא *terkhúna* or *terkhoona*; that this represents *der-kháneh* (درخانه) or as it is pronounced *der khooneh*, cannot be doubted; a term compounded of *der*, "a gate," and *kháneh* "a house," and used at present in Persia to express the Royal Court, or King's Palace. The learned Reland, who probably had not found this signification in book, (though it often occurs in my MSS), would derive the Talmudick טרכונא *terkhoona* from *dergáh* (درگاه) a word equivalent in sense ("Palatium Regis, Persice aula Regis,") but irreconcileable in sound. (See his "Dissert. de Pers. Talm. lxvii). The occasional change of *d* into *t* is noticed in the preface to one of the best MS. Persian dictionaries, the *Berhán Kattea*, and again (under the word نوشت) thus در فارسي دال وتا هر دو بهم تبديل مي يابند My limits in this note will not allow me to trace, as I might, the present pronunciation of *a* before *n* in Persian words to writers much more ancient than the Talmudists. But it may be here observed that the

Among Fryer's remarks on the forms of salutation and compliments usual there in the seventeenth century, I shall particularly notice one which he thus expresses, and of which the last syllable exemplifies the observations above made.

"*Ja shamau collee booth pishee eauroon*"(13),

but which in the proper characters would be written

جا شما خالي بود پيش ياران

and according to my mode of notation in italicks, *Já i shumá kháli búd pish yárán;*" signifying "thy place, or seat, was "empty among thy friends." This phrase, or the greater part of it, *(Já i shumá kháli búd)* was frequently addressed to myself when coming into a circle of Persian acquaintances after an absence of several days or weeks; It reminded me of a passage in the First Book of Samuel, (Ch. XX. v. 18). "And thou shalt be missed because thy seat will be empty," and again, (verse. 25), "David's place was empty."

But it is not merely in sounds that the Persian differs from the Indian; although sometimes verbose and turgid in

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Greeks when speaking of a Persian Court or Royal Palace, expressed it by a term signifying like *der* (در) before explained, "a gate;" thus Herodotus (III. 120) describes Oretes, whom Cyrus had appointed Governor of Sardis, ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλέος θύρην καθήμενον, "sitting in the king's gate," this is the Chaldaick תרין מלכא "but Daniel sat in the gate of the king," (Dan: II. 49); and the Hebrew שער המלך. "the king's gate," (Esther, III. 2). Xenophon also mentions the nobles constantly attending in the gates of Cyrus or at his Palace, ἐπὶ θύραις, (Cyrop. viii); and Plutarch (in Pelop.) styles the great courtiers of Artaxerxes, τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις καρτέρους.

(13) "A new account of East India and Persia, &c. p. 402. fol. (1698).

literary compositions, he affects on common occasions much Laconick brevity; often asking or answering a question in three or four words, where an Indian would employ eight or ten. Sufficient examples of this difference have been already given by an English traveller(14). We find, also, that, in another respect, they considerably disagree; the forms of salutation; what these are in India, Mr. Gladwin has informed us(15); and I shall extract from some familiar Dialogues, written at my request by a man of letters at *Shiráz*, the set phrases which Persians use, not only in their ceremonious visits, but on most occasions when they meet even after a short absence. The traveller may hear them repeated a hundred times in a day, and will derive advantage from committing them to memory(16).

(14) Mr. Scott Waring, who in his "Tour to Sheeraz," (p. 147, Lond. 1807), having noticed "the very great difference between the Persian spoken in India and in Persia;" adds, "the pronunciation has frequently little or no resemblance; and the idiom varies "so much as to subject an Indian to great inconvenience, and frequent mistakes. A "foreigner who speaks and pronounces English as it is written would not make more "egregious blunders."

(15) See his "Persian Moonshee," Vol. II. p. 76. (Second edit. Calcutta 1799).

(16) After the benediction usual among *Musulmáns*, السلام عليكم *As'salám aleikum*, "Peace be to you!" and the reply عليكم السلام *Aleikum as'salám*, "on you also be peace!" the complimentary questions and answers generally follow in this order.

A.	*Detmágh i shumá chákg ast?*	دماغ شما چاق است
B.	*Alhhamd alillah!*	الحمد لله
A.	*Keif i shumá kúg ast?*	کیف شما کوک است
B.	*Az shefcket i shumá*	از شفقت شما

In p. 22 a reference is made to the preface concerning two Arabick Manuscripts of which the authors appeared doubtful. After a laborious collation I have ascertained that both are the work of Ebn al Vardi, though differing in some respects; (See p. 22). Many chapters of this Volume frequently refer to the preface for accounts of other Oriental Works; but as I shall give elsewhere, what may be entitled a Descriptive Catalogue of all my Manuscripts, nothing more seems at present necessary, in addition to the numerous noti-

A. *Nákhúshí nist shumárá ?* ناخوشي نيست شمارا

B. *Az merakhmet i shumá* از مرحمت شما

A. *Akhwál i shumá khúshast ?* احوال شما خوش است

B *Az lutf i shumá* از لطف شما

These phrases concerning the health and comforts of a friend, I shall translate in another place, with most of the Dialogues above mentioned. The compliment addressed to a visitor on his first appearance is often repeated during the interview, *Khúsh ámedid* (خوش امديد) "you are welcome;" to this as to the questions respecting health, the visitor sometimes returns *mushrif sákhtid* (مشرف ساختيد) "you have honoured me;" the final valediction or farewell is most commonly (خداحافظ) *Khudá khafiz*, or *Khudá khafiz i shumá* (خدا حافظ شما) "God be your guardian;" and a frequent reply is *tesdiea keshidid* (تصديع كشيديد) "you have had "much trouble on my account." The Persians introduce many words from the language of *Turkestán*; thus چاق in the first question, signifying healthy, sound, fat, in good condition, &c, and pronounced by them nearly as if ending in our hard *g*; *chág*. Many other words frequent amongst them, but not found in the Persian Dictionaries, shall be explained hereafter; meanwhile it is necessary to remark that the negative (نې) *ni* or *nay*, generally used in India, as I have heard from Europeans who had long resided there, would be considered by the Persians as a contemptuous or too familiar reply to any question. With equals or superiors they express "no" by the Arabick word (خير) *Kheir*, or sometimes (ناخير) *ná-kheir*. Thus the Turks, as we learn from Meninski (Institt. ling. Turc. Tom. II. p. 96. Vindob. 1756), think *Kheir* more respectful and civil than their own negative (يوق) *yók*. "(خير) *chair* "bonus, bene," ex usu autem Turcico etiam est civilior negatio, *non*."

ces of works and authors scattered throughout these pages, than a few remarks comprised in note(17).

On a revisal of this work I find *Isfáhán* and *Ispáhán*, *Fassá* and *Passá*, MOHAMMED and MUHAMMED indifferently used; that the Persian *p* is almost systematically changed into the Arabick *f*, in proper names, as in many other words, a note will sufficiently prove(18); and it would be difficult to enumer-

(17) Of nearly fifty MSS. quoted in this present volume, those not belonging to myself are the *Mudgmel al Twárikh* (مجمل التواريخ) noticed in p. 296, (Paris. Bibliot. du Roi, No. 62). The Turkish MS. (See p. 293) Lond. Brit. Mus. (Harl. No. 5500). The *Tarikh i Wessáf* (تاريخ وصاف) (See p. 170). From a fine copy of this work, the Persian Ambassador allowed me to make some extracts during our voyage from England to *Búshehr*; as also from the *Tohfet al Alum*, (تحفة العالم); See p. 146. The *Sehr al belád* (سير البلاد) a Geographical work of the thirteenth century, (p. 24). composed by *Zakaria Cazini* (زكريا قزويني) author of the (عجايب المخلوقات) *Ajáieb al Makhlúcat*, belongs to the ample collection of Sir Gore Ouseley. I must here notice some of my own MSS. to which references have been made. The *Sur al beldán* (صور البلدان) is the Geographical work of EBN HAUKAL, more copious and perfect than the inaccurately written copy of which I published a translation many years ago. (See a more particular notice of the *Sur al beldán* in p. 328, and 340). The *Zeinet al Mejáles* (زينت المجالس) a modern work of considerable value, both historically and geographically, (See p. 206), was composed by MAJD AD'DI'N MAHAMMED AL HUSEINI, مجد الدين محمد الحسيني surnamed MAHAMMEDI. Respecting the Arabick work of TABRI, my hopes, (See p. 35), were founded on a letter from the late Mr. Gladwin, who had procured a copy in Bengal, and gave me reason to expect that it should be transcribed for my use. From a catalogue which I have seen, it would appear that another copy existed though in a state of decay, not many years ago among the MSS. of a Religious Mohammedan establishment: it is described as of TABRI's own hand-writing, and I hope to obtain a further account of it before the termination of this work.

(18) When the Arabs borrow from any foreign language a word comprising *p*, which their own alphabet wants, they either soften it into *b* or change it into *f*; thus *Ispahán* (اسپهان) becomes *Isfáhán*. *Passa* پسا *Bassá* or *Fassa*, and the *Peri* (پری) an im-

ate the various combinations of letters by which Europeans have expressed the four consonants (محمد *m, hh, m, d*), that constitute the Arabian prophet's name. Like Sir William Jones I have occasionally written MOHAMMED and MUHAMMED, but it is pronounced by many Persians, (uttering the first syllable with rapidity) MAHAMMED, and by some Turks MEHMED, or even MEHMET.

Having mentioned the name of this extraordinary personage, whom a Spanish historian emphatically describes as the "deceiver of the world, the false prophet, the envoy of "Satan, the worst of the precursors of Antichrist, the ful-"filling of all heresies, and the prodigy of all falsehood"(19), I must here notice some of his disciples, lest my reader, accustomed to respect the title of "Saint," so justly bestowed on many early Christians, should startle at the frequent application of it throughout these volumes, to beings the

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agiary creature, beautiful and beneficent, is transformed into *Feri* (فری) and may remind us of our "Fairy." The Persians, in imitation of their Arabian masters, adopt this practice; writing *Farsang* (a measure,) and *Fîrûz* (fortunate, also a proper name), to express what were called before the Saracenick invasion as we know from Greek authors, *Parasang* (Παρασαγγης or Παρασαγγας) and *Pîrûz* (Περοζης پیروز). A volume fairly transcribed above three hundred years ago, presents the names of *Pârs* (پارس) and *Pâsa* (پسا) written in the same page with P, B and F. It is true that in the *Pahlavi* (پهلوی) or old Persick alphabet, one letter served, as in Hebrew, for P and F; but I am inclined to believe that the sound of P predominated.

(19) "*Mahoma* engañador del mundo. Profeta falso, nuncio de Satanas, el peor "precursor del Antichristo, cumplimiento de todas las heregias, y prodigio de toda "falsedad." (See "Coronica de los Moros de Espana" by Bleda, p. 1. Valencia, 1618).

most unworthy. But in this I have followed the example of other travellers; my own opinion of Mohammedan *Saints* will best appear on a reference to page 176, (note 53); wherein it might have been justified by the authority of Maundrell(*).

I shall not complain of various difficulties encountered during the progress of this volume in its typographical execution. Those authors cannot claim much sympathy from the publick, who, merely for their own convenience, and not from necessity, employ country presses, while those of the capital would facilitate and expedite the publication of their works. The book now before my reader was more than half printed, when two very ingenious writers favoured the world with their observations on Persia; yet Mr. Morier had only returned to England four or five months before my work was committed to the press; and Lieutenant Colonel Johnson actually performed and described his journey since the printing of this volume commenced in 1817. If those gentlemen have anticipated me on two or three points not very important, (a circumstance which may always be expected when, without any mutual communication, different persons describe the same objects); a general coincidence

(*) Having mentioned the Tombs of some "eminent *Scheks*," he adds, "that is "such persons as by their long beards, prayers of the same standard, and a kind of "pharisaical superciliousness, (which are the great virtues of the Mahomedan religion), "have purchased to themselves the reputation of Learning and Saints." (Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 19. Oxf. 1721).

in our respective statements and delineations, will serve to evince the accuracy of each(*1). Yet the want of such coincidence, does not always argue wilful misrepresentation; rocks, edifices, and mountains often appear under forms almost totally different as we approach, pass near, or leave them; even objects which from their minuteness demand the closest inspection have been variously described by travellers of equal credibility(*2).

(*1) That Mr. Morier has given a most faithful representation of the extraordinary rocks near Cape Guadel (See his second Volume p. 26), I can affirm after a comparison with my own sketch made nearly in the same point of view; they then resembled battlements; but soon, according to our ship's progressive motion, assumed an appearance of temples, arches, cupolas, &c. which induced me to delineate them a second time as in Pl. VII. (Nos. 1 and 2). My plate representing Shapu'r's statue (Pl. XIX) was engraved in London, before Colonel Johnson had left Persia; probably before he had made his drawing of the same object.

(*2) Thus Dr. Clarke (Trav. Vol. IV. p. 58. 4to. edit.) mentions a Greek inscription that had been already published by Wheler, by Spon, and by Muratori; yet not considering any of their copies accurate, he gives his own, and adds, "it is remarkable that among four travellers who have copied a legend of only ten lines fairly inscribed upon the marble, there should be so much disagreement." The variations between two of those celebrated antiquaries, Dr. Johnson notices in his "Journey to the Western Islands," (p. 166. Edinb. 1811, 12mo), where, on the subject of some uncertain measurements he says; "thus it was that Wheler and Spon described with irreconcileable contrariety things which they surveyed together, and which both undoubtedly designed to show as they saw them." An observation made among the ruins of Persepolis nearly two hundred years before I visited those noble monuments of antiquity, may be here quoted. "Now forasmuch as the remaining figures or images are many and different, and so many as in the two days I was there it was impossible I could take the full of what I am assured an expert Limbner may very well spend twice-two moneths in ere he can make a perfect draught, for to say truth, this is a work much fitter for the pencil than the pen; the rather for that I observe how that Travellers taking a view of some rare piece together, from the variety of their fancy they usually differ in their observations; so that when they

The six Plates which contribute most highly to the embellishment of this volume, have been engraved from drawings made by my accomplished and amiable friend, who, while these pages were in the press, has received the reward of promotion due to his services, and is mentioned in the second volume under the title of Colonel D'Arcy. Those plates are numbered II. IV. V. XI. XVIII, and XX. The subject of Plate XIX, was communicated by Sir Gore Ouseley who copied it, for my use, from Major Stone's original sketch, noticed in page 293; and my obligations are expressed in p. 17, for Miss Snell's permission to copy the portrait of a female cannibal, from which Plate III has been engraved. In the drawings which furnish the other Plates of this volume, I can only say that accuracy has been more studied than beauty of execution; their subjects, in truth, must chiefly recommend them; since they have all been delineated by myself(*).

"think their notes are exact they shall pretermit something that a third will light "upon." (Sir Thomas Herbert's "Some years Travels," &c. p. 163, third edit. 1666). The copy of this valuable work in my collection is illustrated with a large folding view, entitled the "Ruines of Persæpolis," etched by Hollar in 1663, and not found, I believe, in the other editions. Though partly imaginary, or delineated from descriptions or imperfect sketches, this view is well worthy of notice.

(*) It is scarcely necessary to except one out of the thirty nine figures comprised in Plate XXI; that numbered 7, which I did not actually delineate from the *object* itself but after Captain Monteith's drawing of it, as noticed in the Appendix, p. 420. I must here acknowledge that this work might have been embellished from many valuable drawings, made by Mr. William Price of Worcester, who accompanied the Embassy to *Tábríz*, and thence proceeded with me to Constantinople and Smyrna; but the obliging offer of those drawings I was induced to decline, from a report, unfortunately not yet realized, that Mr. Price entertained an intention of publishing them himself.

In the Maps which accompany these Volumes, a professor of Geography has scientifically given to my rough sketches both correctness and neatness. The first, or General Map, presents the names of many places which I did not actually visit, as the lines indicating my different tracks will immediately show. They are marked, however, as points of reference necessary in illustrating the Antiquarian and Geographical digressions, with which I have occasionally diversified the regular narrative of my travels. For the sake of similar illustration, the Persian Map is extracted (in Plates VIII and IX), from a most valuable manuscript of the thirteenth century, and to the explanation of this map an article in the Appendix is devoted. As considerable assistance has been derived from the Oriental writers wherever they could serve to elucidate obscure points of ancient history and philology; so their works have contributed towards my Geographical researches; and some of their maps, faithfully copied from scarce Arabick and Persian manuscripts, will be found, I trust, like our Theodosian or Peutingerian Table, not only curious, but in a high degree useful; thus of the country about *Istakhr* (اصطخر), the territory of Persepolis; *Tabristán* (طبرستان), and *Mázanderán* (مازندران) or Hyrcania; the Periplus of the Caspian sea; and other interesting objects of geographical inquiry, not only in the Southern and Northern provinces of Persia, but in different regions of the Eastern world.

While passing through those countries I often experienced hospitality and polite attention; for which, as for the communication of interesting anecdotes, or serviceable information, and other favours bestowed on me both by Europeans and Asiaticks, it will be found in the course of these volumes that due acknowledgments have not been witholden. But respecting literary obligations, (that assistance which may be derived from private friends in the actual composition of a work) I am free from any debt of gratitude. For however numerous those through whose advice and co-operation the style, the matter, or arrangement of this work might have been improved, I adhered to a resolution formed in early life, when my imagination teemed with literary projects; that not one page, not one sentence should ever be submitted to any human eye, besides my own and the printer's, until its final issue from the press. This resolution was declared many years ago, on the publication of my first Essay, the "Persian Miscellanies," and does not seem to have been condemned by the severest of all contemporary criticks. Some lines borrowed from that work may serve to close the preface of this, in which "I charge myself alone with the burden of responsibility for all its faults; and as I shall submit without a murmur to the correcting lash of criticism, nor attempt to throw it from myself on others, so I indulge the hope of possessing, undivided, whatever recompense of approbation the publick may bestow on one who has honestly endeavoured to please and to instruct." If my

design of affording instruction and entertainment should unfortunately prove vain, I can at least affirm with conscious satisfaction, that *nothing* has been wilfully inserted in these volumes, "by which the taste or judgment might be vitiated or misled; truth or delicacy violated, or morality offended."

ADVERTISEMENT.

Concerning the pronunciation of Asiatick words, as represented in European characters, see the preceding pages xii, xiii, xiv, xix. The Orientalist will immediately discover in what parts of this Volume (chiefly at the beginning), some accents have been lost through accident, or omitted through inadvertency; but for the mere English reader it may be necessary to observe that the unaccented *a* was designed to express our short vowel in *man*, *hat*, *bad*, &c, and the accented *á* our long vowel in *star*, *ball*, &c; both occur in the name of *Ispahán* (اسپہان). The accented *ú* is our *oo* in *room*, *cool*, &c. or the French *ou* in *amour*; the *u* without an accent is our *u* in *bull*, *full*, &c; but I have never employed it to express the sound of our short vowel in *gun*, *bud*, *rub*, &c: thus *pul* (پل) "a bridge," is our *pull*; while the accented *ú* in *púl* (پول) "money," is exactly our English word *pool*. The letter *e* is not marked with any accent, as the sound of our long vowel in *hope*, *rose*, &c. was never uttered, as far as my perception enabled me to judge, by those Persians who spoke their language with the greatest purity and elegance: indeed, by any. The accented *í* is our *ee* in *peer*, or the Italian *i* in *vino*. The following words will exemplify these observations; the unaccented *a*, as in *man*, *hat*, &c. occurs in *takht* (تخت) "a throne," *haft* (هفت) "seven;" the long accented *á* and the accented *ú*, in *Shápúr* (شاپور), which we might write *Shawpoor*. The short *a* and the long accented *í*, in *Tabríz* (تبریز) pronounced *Tabreez*. *Kh* represents خ, *gh* غ. The difficult sound of the Arabick ق I have not attempted to express more nearly than by *k*, (or *c* before *a* or *u*). The Persians take but little trouble in imitating the true sound, and pronounce it often like *k*, *g*, or *gh*.

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It is intended to conclude the whole work with a general and copious Index: the place of which, is, in some degree, supplied at present, by the running title of each page.

TRAVELS

IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

OF

THE EAST.

CHAPTER I.

From England to Madeira—Rio de Janeiro—and Ceylon.

IT was resolved, early in the year 1810, that Sir Gore Ouseley, invested by our Sovereign with the fullest diplomatick powers, should proceed to Persia; and I prepared, in the character of his private secretary, to accompany him on this honourable and important mission. Orders were given, directing that a ship of the line should

be furnished with every thing necessary for the accommodation, not only of those gentlemen who constituted the English embassy, but of MIRZA ABU'L HASSAN(1), the Persian Envoy, and his nine Asiatick attendants. As there were several bulky packages, containing presents for the King of Persia, carriages, mirrors of considerable dimensions, military stores, and other articles; a second vessel was provided.

On the fourteenth of July, having resided above three months at the house of MIRZA ABU'L HASSAN, in London, I proceeded with him, Mr. Morier(2), and Mr. Gordon(3), to Portsmouth, where Sir Gore and Lady Ouseley, with their daughter, (a child three years of age) arrived the next day;

(1) ميرزا ابو الحسن He had arrived in England on the 25th of November, 1809, and since his return to Persia has been ennobled, and the title of *Khán* خان equivalent to "lord," now *follows* his proper name *Abu'l Hassan*. When preceding a name, the word *Mirza* may be translated "gentleman," and is the distinction usually affected by those whom a good education has raised above the vulgar; it is more especially accorded to literary men. All of those who attended us at *Shiráz*, *Isfahán* and *Tehrán*, either to teach the elements of their language, to explain difficult passages of their poets, or to act the part of secretaries in writing and translating letters, assumed the word *Mirza* before their proper names; but it becomes a title peculiar to royal princes, when placed after the name; thus the *Shahzádeh* شاهزاده or "kings son," who held his court at *Shiraz*, during our residence there, was styled حسين علي ميرزا *Husein Ali Mirza*. The compound *Shah-zádeh* implies royal offspring of either sex.

(2) James Morier, esq. secretary of embassy, and author of the "Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor, &c." (Lond. 1812.)

(3) The Honourable Robert Gordon, brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, and attached to our embassy. Mr. Gordon has since fulfilled the duties of minister at the Austrian court.

and on the eighteenth we all embarked in the LION, of sixty four guns, a ship already celebrated in the annals of diplomatick navigation, having, almost eighteen years before, departed from the same place, when carrying Lord Macartney on his embassy to China(*). But it was said, that through occasional repairs, very frequent and extensive, little of the original vessel, besides its name and form, remained at the time of our embarkation. We found that Captain Heathcote, who commanded the Lion, had made for our convenience every possible arrangement.

The CHICHESTER, to which I have above alluded, had formerly been a French frigate, and named, after the river that separates France from Italy, LA VAR. In this large and handsome store-ship, (now armed with only sixteen guns) were Major D'Arcy and Major Stone, of the royal artillery, with a party of their regiment.

Immediately after our arrival on board the Lion, (about sun-set) the anchors of both ships were weighed, and we sailed down the channel with a favourable and moderate wind. This, after two or three days, increased in strength, and so considerably accelerated our progress, that we often advanced ten and even almost eleven miles within an hour;

(*) See Lord Macartney's own "Journal" published by Mr. Barrow, in his interesting memoirs of that nobleman's life.—(Vol II. 1807.) See, also, Sir George Staunton's "Authentic Account, &c." (1797.)

but it caused, as we passed the rough Bay of Biscay, much annoyance to several passengers; and although previously unskilled in the nautical vocabulary I soon learned those terms, that express the different kinds of motion, by which a vessel is violently agitated: to ascertain the most unpleasant would be very difficult.

During the first week of our voyage, many occurences seemed extraordinary to me, whose experience in naval affairs had been wholly acquired while I crossed the straits that divide England from France and Ireland, from Holland and Flanders: but my own subsequent observations and the remarks of others have proved, that similar circumstances may be noticed by all those who, as the Psalmist says, "go "down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in "great waters." I shall, therefore, only state among the events of our passage to Madeira, that on the twenty third, a man fell from the fore top-mast, and was killed. On the next morning, a strange ship appeared, which one of the lieutenants examined and ascertained to be Danish. Early on the twenty-ninth, we saw the bold rocky mountains, the vallies and some whitish buildings in the Island of Porto Santo, and at six o'clock we anchored in the beautiful bay of Funchal, the principal town of Madeira, having sailed, since our departure from Portsmouth, according to daily computations, accurately registered by officers of the ship, one thousand five hundred and nineteen miles.

The Portuguese fort saluted us with a discharge of cannon, and a similar compliment was paid by the Menelaus, an English frigate lying here, of which the commander, Captain Parker, has since nobly fallen in the service of his country(5).

While Sir Gore and Lady Ouseley, Mr. Morier, Mr. Gordon and I accepted the polite invitation of Mr. Veitch, the consul general, and went on shore, where we became his guests, MIRZA ABU'L HASSAN for some private reasons, thought proper to continue on board the Lion.

Madeira had long been the residence of many English families, and of individuals whose health required a warm and genial climate: the garrison also, of Funchal, was at this time, chiefly composed of British troops. Respecting the number of Portuguese inhabitants, I heard various statements; but this African island, (on which are five or six small towns or villages, besides the capital,) does not contain probably, more than one hundred thousand persons, of whom fourteen or fifteen thousand are said to reside in Funchal(6). We inspected the churches and

(5) Sir Peter Parker was killed on the 31st of August, 1814, while storming the American camp, at Bellair, near Baltimore.

(6) According to lists, which may be supposed accurate, the population of Madeira comprehended 95,000 persons admitted to confession, and 9500 children under the age of five years, and therefore too young to confess: forming a total of one hundred and four thousand, five hundred inhabitants.—See Corry's "Observations on the Windward Coast of Africa." p. 30: (Lond. 1807.)

several convents, besides a religious edifice, wherein the walls were lined with human skulls. One morning we rode upon mules and horses, about three miles towards the summit of the rock that forms this island, (evidently a volcanick production) to the villa of a gentleman named Gordon, and after breakfast proceeded to the Mountain church; this when illuminated at night, forms a magnificent and extraordinary object viewed from ships at a little distance in the bay. We also visited Mr. Page's country house, and examined some of the vineyards, for which the island is celebrated. Both going and returning we passed through groves of myrtle and orange trees, and among such a profusion of wild geranium and other fragrant plants, as highly contributed to the delight of this excursion. From the roof of a high building in the town, I sketched that insulated and fortified rock, called "Loo," or "Ilheo," which partly defends the bay. (See Plate I. view 1.)

On the first of August we returned to the Lion and sailed. Early on the third we passed by *Palma*, one of the Canary islands; these, according to most general supposition, were what the ancients denominated *Fortunate*(7); although Heeren, a learned German, seems to

(7) The "Isles of the Blessed," Νῆσοι τῶν Μακάρων of the Greeks. Strab. (Geogr. lib. I.) Eustath. (Comment. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 546, &c.) and the "Insulæ Fortunatæ" of the Latin writers. Pompon. Mel. (de situ orbis, cap. XI:) Plin. (Nat. Hist. lib. IV. cap. 22:) Solin. (Polyhist. cap. ult. &c.)

Sugar Loaf near the Bay of Janeiro. (Pl. II.)

Sugar Loaf. Pl. III.

think that Madeira was one of the spots so entitled(*), while Salmasius, (Claude de Saumaise) affirms that even the Canaries do not correspond in situation to those seats of imaginary beatitude, which, he says, must have been more southerly(9). I shall not attempt to reconcile the diversity of opinions on this subject, but merely observe that the ancients probably knew the Canaries(10), and that, whatever they may be, "the Fortunate Islands" under the name of *Jezaïr al Khaledát*(11), (bearing the same signification,)

(*) I quote Heeren on the authority of a friend; my own enjoyment of many literary treasures, besides that celebrated author's works, being precluded by a total ignorance of the German language.

(9) "Hodiernas Canarias, veterum Fortunatas esse non nemini hodie placet. Situs "tamen repugnat, quippe priscæ Fortunatæ longe magis meridiales." (Salm. Plin. Exercit. in Solin. p. 916. Traj. ad Rhen. 1689.)

(10) "The Canaries are supposed to have been known, however imperfectly, to the "ancients; but in the confusion of the subsequent ages, they were lost and forgotten "'till about the year 1340, the Biscayners found *Lanzerot*, and invading it (for to find "a new country and invade it, has always been the same) brought away seventy cap- "tives and some commodities of the place."—(Dr. Johnson's Introd. to the "World Displayed," a collection of voyages in several volumes.)

(11) جزاير الخالدات Notwithstanding the assertion of Salmasius above quoted, a very ingenious antiquary seems inclined to believe, that some at least among the ancients, regarded our northern British islands (perhaps the *Orcades*) as those "Isles of the Blessed," wherein reposed the shades of heroes, and other mighty dead. "Cette "derniere circonstance relative à la mythologie des Grecs, nous montre que ces peu- "ples, ainsi que les Celtes, mettoient le *sejour* des *morts* dans le Nord; car c'étoit là "position de la Bretagne par rapport à eux. Cette isle etoit dans la mer Occidentale, "où Eustathe place aussi les isles des bien-heureux. Tzetzes les determine encore "mieux, en les plaçant entre celle de Thulé et la Bretagne, &c." See D'Hancarville's "Recherches sur l'origine et les progrès des arts de la Grèce:" Tome 1. p. 239. Lond. 1785.)

still constitute a very important feature in geography, since, they serve as a point from which the Arabians and Persians, like Ptolemy and earlier Greek writers, most commonly begin their account of longitude, as will appear from numerous quotations scattered through the pages of this work(12).

During forty three days we continued to experience the usual vicissitudes of mild and boisterous weather, gales and calms. We were propelled or retarded by lofty and foaming waves, or floated with scarcely perceptible progress on the smooth surface of the Atlantick or of the Southern ocean. The air, however, was all this time, of a warm and pleasing temperature, the quicksilver in Fahrenheit's thermometer not rising above the seventy ninth, nor sinking below the

(12) Thus *Nassiréd'din Túsi*, and *Ulugh Beig*, in their geographical tables, published by the learned Greaves, with a Latin translation, (See Hudson's "Minor Geographers," Vol. III.) *Hamdallah Cazvíni*, *Mohammed Isfahání*, and others, of whose manuscript works, several fine copies are preserved in my collection. But *Abu'l Feda* commences his calculation of longitude from that which he considers as the most western promontory of the African continent, and ten degrees eastward of the Fortunate islands. This system is likewise adopted by a Greek geographer (and physician) of the fourteenth century. Thus he places Μαζάλχ, (*Balkh*, بلخ) in longitude 91—0, which those who reckon from the Fortunate islands describe as in 101—0. He places Σαμαρχανδ, (*Samarkand*, سمرقند) in 88—20, the others in 98—20, the difference of ten degrees being observed. We find however a few inconsiderable deviations from this system. The longitudinal position which he assigns to Μωαρα, (*Basrah*, بصرة) is 75-0, while *Nassiréd'din Tusi* and the other geographers of his school, place it in longitude from the Fortunate islands, 84—0. The "*Excerpta ex G. M. Chrysococcæ Syntaxi Persarum*," are given in the third volume of Hudson's "Minor Geographers."

seventy second degree. It afforded us some amusement to catch dolphins and sharks, and to observe the myriads of flying-fishes that endeavoured to avoid them. Until we approached the Brazilian coast, a boundless view of sea and sky was only diversified by the appearance of two strange ships, one (for we examined both) an American, the other English; but our society on board the Lion was occasionally enlivened by the presence of Major D'Arcy and Major Stone, who came from the Chichester to visit us.

I shall not here particularly notice the ridiculous ceremonies practised, according to long-established custom, at the time of our crossing the Equinoctial line, (on the twenty-eighth of August) when several sailors, disguised in a fantastical manner and representing the God of the sea, his queen, tritons, sirens, and other attendants, exhibited themselves as having just emerged from the water, to claim tribute from all who had never before arrived at the Equator. These buffooneries were principally managed by the chief musician of Captain Heathcote's band; a facetious Irishman, who personated Neptune, and had adopted, for the classical drapery and attributes of that Divinity, a dragoon's jacket, an old pistol, and a pair of spurs.

On the eleventh of September we first descried the coast of South America. During the twelfth we were becalmed near Cape Frio. On the thirteenth we advanced, although

slowly; towards the Bay of Rio de Janeiro, where, on the fourteenth (after a passage from Madeira of five thousand three hundred and sixty six miles) we anchored, having saluted the Honourable Admiral De Courcy, who was in an English ship (the Foudroyant) of eighty guns; a compliment which he immediately returned, and the discharge of cannon, among the rocks and islands of this beautiful harbour, produced a reverberation of tremendous sounds, with very fine effect. Some of the neighbouring mountains almost conical in shape, and many wooded even to their summits, appeared as if risen abruptly from the sea. A short time before we anchored, I sketched the appearance of one most remarkable, said to exceed seven hundred feet in height, and called by our navigators the "Sugar Loaf."—(See Plate I, view 2.) After we had passed it, and were stationary in the bay, I again delineated its form, (as in Plate I, view 3) from a window of the Lion.

With some gentlemen from the ship I went ashore, for two or three hours, on the fifteenth; walked through the streets of Rio de Janeiro, and visited the house which, according to directions given by the Prince Regent (since King) of Portugal, several persons were busily engaged in preparing for the reception of Sir Gore Ouseley, who remained in the Lion until twelve o'clock on the sixteenth, when he landed with his family, the members of our embassy, *Mirza Abu'l Hasan* and his Persian attendants. Some of the

Vista em Rio de Janeiro

Prince's carriages, (two-wheeled, and drawn by fine tall mules) had been previously sent to the landing place; and in those we were conveyed to the habitation provided for the Ambassador; a large and handsome house situate in the great square, or *Campo de Lampedosa*, and accurately represented by Major D'Arcy, in a drawing, from which the engraved view (see Plate II) has been copied.

Here we found a numerous establishment of servants, a table profusely covered, an ample service of splendid and massive plate, with an abundant stock of wine, most excellent in quality, the product of various regions. During ten days that we continued the Prince's guests on shore, five or six saddle horses, and as many of the royal carriages were brought regularly at sun-rise to our gate, for the Ambassador and those of his party who might wish to enjoy the cool hours of morning, in excursions through the adjacent country, replete with natural objects of curiosity, and yielding innumerable prospects, equally magnificent, extraordinary, and beautiful.

On the eighteenth we were introduced at court, by the British minister, Lord Strangford, to the Prince Regent and his son. The Persian dress of *Mirza Abu'l Hasan*, who on this occasion accompanied the Ambassador, had attracted the notice of several ladies, assembled in a room adjoining the presence-chamber; and its door being sometimes nearly

half-open, I discovered among the young Princesses, (as the handsomest of this group were said to be) one whose countenance was peculiarly interesting and pleasing.

Rio de Janeiro, or the city of Saint Sebastian, is large and populous; it contains many well-stored shops, particularly druggists, and some warehouses filled with English goods. On certain festivals, which seemed to follow in quick succession, hundreds of rockets were discharged, not only at night, but during the brightest glare of day, from various convents and churches. In two or three of these I was much gratified by some fine sacred musick, the vocal parts being admirably performed.

But like others of our English party who had never before visited a land contaminated by slavery, I was surprised on stepping ashore, and must add, shocked, at the appearance of many wretched Africans employed in drawing water near the landing place. Some were chained in pairs, by the wrists; others, five or six together, by links attached to heavy iron collars. These, it was said, had endeavoured to escape from the lash of their owners, by seeking refuge in the woods and mountains. I remarked that from the iron collar which was fastened round the neck of one, proceeded a long handle, (of iron also) contrived by its projection, to embarrass the wearer, when forcing his way through forests or thickets. This handle also would afford

to any European who might unfortunately detect the poor fugitive, very easy means of securing, and even, (by immediate strangulation) of destroying him. All these were as nearly in a state of perfect nakedness, as decency would allow; and many bore, on their backs and shoulders, the marks either of stripes recently inflicted, or of others by which their skins had long since been lacerated.

To drag an immense cask of water from the public fountain to their master's house; seemed a common employment of the slaves; five or six pulling the vessel on a sledge, or low four-wheeled frame. During this exertion, they cheered each other by singing short sentences, either in the language of their own country, or in Portuguese. There was a pleasing kind of melody in this simple chant; and a gentleman who had resided many years at Rio de Janeiro, informed me that the usual burden of their Portuguese song, was little more than an address to the water-cask, "come load, "come soon-home!"; but that if they belonged to a cruel master or mistress, their own language served as a vehicle for lamentation and condolence, and for imprecations on their oppressor.

Passing once through the slave-market, I observed several Africans exposed for sale, whose squalid and sickly aspect offered but few temptations to a purchaser. Among them were some boys (ten or perhaps twelve years old) so miser-

ably leap; that they might almost be denominated living skeletons. But I am inclined to believe that their excessive emaciation was rather the consequence of disease, than of immoderate punishment or the privation of food.

And it must be acknowledged that of the slaves occasionally seen in the streets, many evinced by their looks that they were well fed and kindly treated, if any judgment may be formed from an appearance of health, activity, and even of content. On certain holidays they obtained permission to assemble in bands of fifteen, twenty or more, according to their native districts and dialects, the chiefs being sometimes gaudily decorated with beads and feathers, old buttons, bits of glass and similar marks of distinction. Among the members of each group there were generally two or three musicians, who performed their national airs on different instruments, some rude and simple, others of a strange and complicated form. Those tones, however, seemed to delight the slaves, who sung, and danced with an air of heartfelt gaiety, so strongly, so naturally expressed, that I could not for one moment suppose it to have been affected. (15).

We may, therefore, reasonably suspect much exaggeration in the reports which accuse several Portuguese of extreme

(15) Mr. Browne, describing some dances practised by the Africans of *Dar-Fur*, says, "such is their fondness for this amusement, that the slaves dance in fetters to "the music of a little drum."—Travels, p. 292, (first edition, 1799).

cruelty towards their blacks. Yet the most horrible of these anecdotes that I heard, do not exceed, indeed scarcely equal as charges of atrocity, what has been imputed to our own countrymen in the West Indian islands, and, I fear, too fully proved before the highest tribunal of England.

It seems surprising that those Africans should indulge even a momentary cheerfulness, or at any time forget that they are slaves, when every white man whom they meet conceives himself privileged to remind them of their real condition, not unfrequently by a blow. Looking one day from a window of the Ambassador's house, with a Portuguese gentleman, I felt much indignation on seeing an European strike violently with his cane on the naked back, a tall, robust and handsome slave walking accidentally near him. I observed to my companion, that nothing had occurred to justify this outrage; that the black had not offended. "No," replied he coolly, "there was no actual provocation on his part; but he is a slave, and it is necessary "that the Portuguese should maintain their authority over "the blacks, who are six times more numerous than their "masters."

Yet it was not denied that the Africans displayed on many occasions very excellent qualities, and were particularly grateful for kindnesses, and susceptible of the strongest attachments. The gentleman above mentioned possessed a

female slave, the nature of whose daily employment separated her, by the distance of at least five miles, from a young man, the object of her affections. But never did the hottest weather, the fatigue of a whole day's laborious work, nor even sickness, hinder her from visiting him every night, although obliged to return, at an early hour of morning, to her task, running barefooted, as she had come.

Of the genuine Brazilians, I saw but few ; they were of a yellowish colour, and differed considerably from the Africans in hair, face, and general appearance. An accomplished English lady, Miss Snell, (sister in law of Sir James Gambier, our consul general), had sketched the portrait of a woman, whose husband was chief of the *Botecudo* tribe. This Brazilian Queen, as some styled her, had been brought to Rio de Janeiro by order of the Prince Regent, who humanely wished through conciliating treatment, to civilize that race of cannibals. The clothes provided for herself and her two children they constantly tore. But the savage mother was proudly ornamented with a necklace composed of human teeth ; her under lip was slit and much distended, while a piece of wood, purposely inserted through the opening, protruded it in a disgusting manner. Her ears also had, by some means, been so lengthened, that they nearly reached her shoulders. This hideous woman acknowledged that she had on various occasions, devoured the flesh of fourteen or fifteen prisoners, and all attempts that were made

to soften her ferocity proved vain. She, with her two children, died of the small-pox, some months before our arrival at this city, where Miss Snell, obligingly permitted me to copy her sketch, taken from the life, and exactly imitated in Plate III(14).

We were much annoyed during our residence here by mosquitoes. Almost every person whose bed was not furnished with a gauze net or curtain, suffered considerably at night, and generally arose in the morning with face, hands and arms swollen and spotted from their venemous stings. Another plague of this country is the *Chigua* or *Jigger*, as our English sailors call a little insect attaching itself to the feet of those who incautiously tread without shoes on the ground, or the bare floors of houses. Slaves, therefore, and people of the lowest classes are most frequently exposed to the attacks of these creatures, which burrow in the skin,

(14) Mr. Southey, in his "History of Brazil," (Vol. I. p. 222) having described the killing, and dissection of a prisoner, and the distribution of his limbs, thus proceeds, "At all these operations the old women presided; and they derived so much importance "from these occasions, that their exultation over a prisoner was always fiend-like. "They stood by the *Boucan*, and caught the fat as it fell, that nothing might be "lost; licking their fingers during this accursed employment. Every part of the "body was devoured; the arm and thigh bones were reserved to be made into flutes; "the teeth strung in necklaces; the skull set up at the entrance of the town; or, it "was sometimes used as a drinking cup, after the manner of our Scandinavian "ancestors.—"They had learned to consider human flesh as the most exquisite of all "dainties. Delicious, however, as these repasts were deemed, they derived their "highest flavour from revenge."

and cause an excessive itching, with tumours, violent pains, and in some cases, mortification. We heard, however, that several of the Portuguese nobility, when first they arrived from Lisbon, suffered equally from those tormentors; and that above thirty *chiguas* had been found in the feet of one lady, a personage of very high rank, and all extracted on the same day.

To dislodge the *chiguas* from those nests which they form in the flesh, various substances have been applied; but the most usual and efficacious method is to employ a slave expert in the art of taking them out entire, with a sharp needle; for to leave behind any part, either of the insect itself, or of the bag which contains its young, might produce very dangerous consequences. On this subject I shall refer my reader to two travellers of the seventeenth century(15).

(15) Father Michael Angelo, a missionary, informs us (in Churchill's collection of Travels, Vol. I. *p.* 617, edition of 1704.) that "the ground being sandy, the natives and "travellers are troubled with a kind of insects which some call *Pharaoh's lice*, alledging "that was one of the ten plagues wherewith God formerly punished Egypt. They are "less than lice and work themselves insensibly in between the flesh and the skin, and in "a days' time grow as big as a kidney bean. Some experienced black undertakes the "cure, for were they left unregarded, they would corrupt all the foot in a very short time."

The other writer, to whom a reference has been made above, is our worthy countryman Richard Ligon, immortalized by the Spectator, in a quotation which styles him, "that honest traveller." Having described the *Chegoes* as "no bigger than a mite "that breeds in cheese,"—he continues, "yet this very little enemy can and will do "much mischief to mankind. This vermine will get thorough your stocken, and in "a pore of your skin, in some part of your feet, commonly under the nail of your

At Rio de Janeiro, we were invited by the Conde de Linhares to a sumptuous dinner; the Pope's Nuncio, (a venerable Italian Cardinal,) the English, Spanish, Swedish and American ministers, with several ladies of distinction,

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"toes, and there make a habitation to lay his offspring, as big as a small tare or the "bag of a bee, which will cause you to go very lame, and put you to much smarting "pain. The *Indian* women (he speaks of the Americans) have the best skill to take "them out, which they do by putting in a small pointed pin or needle, at the hole "where he came in, and winding the point about the bag, loosen him from the flesh, "and so take him out. He is of a blewish colour, and is seen through the skin; but "the *Negroes*, whose skins are of that colour (or near it), are in ill case, for they "cannot find where they are; by which means they are many of them very lame. "Some of these Chegoes are poysonous, and after they are taken out, the orifice in "which they lay will fester and rankle for a fortnight after they are gone. I have had "ten," adds he, "taken out of my feet in a morning, by the most unfortunate *Yarico*, an "*Indian* woman." See "A true and exact History of the Island of Barbadoes." p 66. (folio, Lond. 1673). Although I here dismiss the subject of these insects, yet a name and an epithet occuring in the last quoted passage, seduce me into a further extract from the same book, now become rare, and at all times curious and entertaining. The reader will easily perceive that I allude to the *unfortunate Yarico* and to the story of her infamous lover, the "prudent and frugal" Mr. Thomas Inkle, so well related in the Spectator (No. 11), and founded on an anecdote recorded by "honest" Ligon, who mentions that several Englishmen having been chased by the American Indians into a wood near the sea coast, "some were taken and some killed." But "a young man amongst them straggling from the rest, was met by this "*Indian* maid, who, upon the first sight, fell in love with him, and hid him close "from her countrymen (the Indians) in a cave, and there fed him, till they could "safely go down to the shoar, where the ship lay at anchor, expecting the return of "their friends. But at last seeing them upon the shoar, sent the long boat for them, "took them aboard, and brought them away. But the youth when he came ashoar "in the *Barbadoes*, forgot the kindness of the poor maid, that had ventured her life "for his safety, and sold her for a slave, who was as free born as he: and so poor "Yarico for her love lost her liberty."—(Hist. of Barbadoes, p. 55). If this simple narrative required any amplification to render the memory of Mr. Thomas Inkle more execrable, that affecting circumstance with which the Spectator concludes his story would be sufficient.

appeared among the numerous guests. To various parts of this beautiful country we made frequent excursions, especially to the seat of Sir James Gambier, distant from the city about three miles, and most admirably situate, close to the sea, amidst groves of cocoa and mango trees, which at night seemed all illuminated from the multiplicity of fire-flies. With the hospitable proprietor of this villa, we dined two or three times: also with Lord Strangford, in the town, and with Colonel Cunninghame, at his country house.

Having taken leave of the Prince Regent on the twenty fifth, we returned next day to the Lion. Our anchor was weighed on the twenty-seventh, but a calm detained us in the bay of Rio de Janeiro until the twenty-eighth of September, when we proceeded on our voyage, and soon lost sight of land.

From this time few incidents occurred deserving particular notice, until the eighteenth of October, when we sailed among those extraordinary insulated rocks, called *Tristan d' Acunha*, *Inaccessible* and *Nightingale*. Of the first, and largest, while heavy clouds allowed but momentary glimpses of its lofty summit, I made a sketch (see Plate VI. No. 1). as we passed between it and the rock, improperly denominated *Inaccessible*, since many English and American sailors had contrived to land upon it, a few years before, although not

without extreme difficulty and danger; this we learned from one of the Lion's crew, a man named Evans, who had resided nine months on the great island of *Tristan d' Acunha*, employed in killing seals and filling casks with the oil which they yielded.—Of *Inaccessible* (seen in two directions) and of *Nightingale* Island, ideas may be formed from the views given in Plate VI. No. 2. and No. 3.

On the twenty-second of October we were in the meridian of London. On the twenty-fourth in East-longitude 2. lat. 41-7. the air cold, Fahrenheit's thermometer standing at 52. There had been a calm during several days; the sea was perfectly smooth, and some whales exhibited their unwieldly forms near the ship. Captain Heathcote availed himself of this mild weather, to exercise his men at the great guns; and it was regarded by many officers, as a very uncommon circumstance, that, in such a latitude where the South-west wind generally blows with much violence, the lower ports of a two-decked vessel could have been safely opened. We passed the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope at midnight on the twenty-eighth, and next day, being in long. 19-40. and lat. 40-41. considered ourselves as having emerged from the Southern and entered the Indian ocean.

To this vast expanse European geographers have prescribed imaginary bounds which may be known from their

printed works, already in publick circulation. But we find lurking among the obscure pages of oriental manuscripts, some particulars respecting this great sea, the numerous islands with which it is studded, and that noble region of the Asiatick continent, whence it derives its name. Of those particulars, and others not uninteresting, however seemingly improbable, or even marvellous, I must defer any further notice, until a future occasion.

Meanwhile, this Indian ocean *(Bahr al Hind)* is described as "the most considerable of seas"(16), in two Arabick treatises, which, from their different titles, might be respectively ascribed to EBN ATHIR AL JEZERI, and to EBN AL VARDI. One also, though a perfect volume, as originally transcribed, wants much that the other contains; yet, notwithstanding this deficiency, and a few immaterial variations of text, some circumstances, which I have explained in the preface, induce me to consider both these valuable manuscripts as the cosmographical work of EBN AL VARDI alone. He informs us, that this ocean, styled as well "the sea "of *Sin*, or China, as of *Hind*, or India, also the sea "of *Sind* and of *Yemen*, (or Arabia the happy), begins at "the Gulf of *Culzum*, (the Red sea), and extends to

(16) بحر الهند هو اعظم البحار

"*Vakvák;* (Japan, the Sunda(17), or the Maldive islands) "a space of four thousand five hundred leagues, or "*farsangs*"(18);—and in other passages we read that, "from its commencement at the main ocean eastward, to "*Bàb al Mandeb* on the west, it is equal in length to four "thousand farsangs,(19)" and that "in this sea is such a "multiplicity of islands, that, by some reports, their num-"ber has been estimated even at twenty thousand"(20).

(17) M. Langlès, in a note subjoined to his excellent translation of an Arabian tale, (See "Les Voyages de Sindbad le Marin," p. 147, Paris, 1814), gives us reason to hope for some satisfactory remarks on the situation of *Vakvák*, hitherto uncertain.

(18) بحر الصين هو بحر الصين و الهند و السند و اليمن و من مبدا بحر القلزم الي الوقواق اربعه آلاف فرسخ و خمسماية فرسخ

On the first occurrence of a word, which must appear often in the following pages, it is necessary to remark that the Persian *Parasang*, (now generally called *farsang*, فرسنگ or corruptly *farsakh* فرسخ in the Arabick manner) may, with a degree of accuracy sufficient for general computation, be supposed to exceed three English miles and a half, but not quite to equal three miles and three quarters. In the preface I have offered more particular observations on this measure, which seems to have been in ancient times, as it is at present variously defined.

(19) طوله من مبتداه من المحيط في الشرق الي باب المندب في الغرب اربعه آلاف فرسخ

The narrow entrance into the Red sea derived its Arabick name, *Bàb al Mandeb*, or "Gate of Lamentation," from the frequent shipwrecks happening there, and the consequent destruction of mariners. It has been supposed by some, the *Mandeth*, (Μανδαὴθ) noticed in Ptolemy's Geography, (Lib. IV. c. 7).

(20) و في هذه البحر جزاير كثيرة قيل انها تزيد علي عشرين الف جزيرة

From a quotation immediately preceding these lines, our author appears indebted to an ancient writer called Ebn al Fakeeh(21) for his statement of the islands; which will not be deemed very extravagant, if, as modern enumerations represent, the *Maldives* alone form a cluster of eleven thousand(22).

Concerning its extent, this measurement of the Indian ocean sufficiently agrees with that given by Edrisi, whom some have entitled "The Nubian Geographer"(23), and

(21) ابن الفقيه I find that an extraordinary description of Rome, composed in the thirteenth century, by *Zakeria Cazvini*, "was wholly derived," as he acknowledges, "from the book of *Mukammed ben Ahmed Hamedani*, generally surnamed *Ebn al Fakieh*."

و این همه منقولست از کتاب محمد بن احمد همداني که مشهور است بابن الفقيه

(Pers. MS. *Seir al belád.*—Climate VI.)

(22) See a note added to D'Anville's "Ancient Geography"—in the English translation. (Lond. 1791, p. 552).

(23) See the Introduction, (p. 3 & 4), of his Arabick work, the *Nozhat al Mushtak* نزهة المشتاق written in the twelfth century, and printed at Rome, 1592, (4to). It is sometimes styled *Kitab Rujer*, كتاب رجار or the "Book of Roger," having been composed by order of Roger, king of Sicily, as we learn from Pococke, (Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 373) who considers the volume printed at Rome but an Epitome of *Edrisi's* great geographical treatise. And D'Herbelot, (Bibl. Orient. in *Edrisi*) tells us that the Latin translation, published at Paris (1619) is nothing more than an abridgment of the Arabick text, as it issued from the Roman press. This Latin version was the joint work of two Maronites, Gabriel Sionita and Joannes Hesronita; undertaken by desire of the illustrious De Thou, or Thuanus. In 1632 it was translated into Italian by P. Dominico Maeri, as Jenisch informs us, (De latis Ling. Orient. p. xcix). I have as yet neither seen the Italian nor the Latin version.

with a description, borrowed perhaps from him or from EBN AL VARDI, and found in an Arabian tale, of which the original text has been lately printed, and may, without hesitation, be cited among more grave and classical authorities; for SINDBAD has obtained celebrity throughout every quarter of the globe, and now delights, under various forms, probably a greater number of Europeans even than of Asiaticks(24).

The Indian ocean, however, is circumscribed within much narrower limits according to one of those different Persian works, (for I have seen three or four) bearing the specious title of *Ajaïeb al Beldán*, or "Wonders of Regions"(25).

(24) I allude to the "Story of Sindbad the Sailor," already quoted, page 23, (قصة السندباد البحري *Kissh al Sindbad al Bahri*) published in Arabick and French, with many useful notes, by M. Langlès, (see p. 0, both of the original and the translation.) This surprising narrative forms part of the "Thousand and one nights," (الف ليلة و ليلة) a work, so well known among us by its English title, "The Arabian Nights Entertainments," and familiar to innumerable readers, through the medium of French, Italian and German versions. I may also add Greek, for at Venice, in 1783, was printed ΑΡΑΒΙΚΟΝ ΜΥΘΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ, comprising those celebrated tales, translated from the Arabick into French—then from French into Italian, and from the Italian into Greek, as we learn from the advertisement—"Ἐκδὸ καὶ τὸ περίφημον Μυθολογικὸν βιβλίον τῶν Ἀράβων, μεταγλωττισμένον τέλος πάντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὲν καλέσαντες ἀφ' οὗ ἐμεταγλωττίσθη, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀραβικῆς εἰς τὴν Φραντζέζικην, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης εἰς τὴν Ἰταλικὴν, &c.

(25) This title عجايب البلدان has proved fallacious at least in one instance; —a handsome manuscript, containing most insipid legends of two or three hundred obscure Mohammedan saints, and of their miracles. But another Persian work in my own collection, entitled also "*Ajaïeb al Beldán*," a large and fairly written volume, consists of interesting biographical anecdotes, illustrating modern history, both Indian and Persian.

The author informs us that this sea "extends from China "to the land of *Habsheh*, or Abyssinia being in length "two thousand, six hundred, and sixty-six farsangs, and "in breadth nine hundred, of which three hundred "and thirty farsangs are northward of the Equinoctial line, "and the remainder southward." "It is related," adds he, "that this ocean contains twenty thousand islands(*26*). Such is his general calculation of extent, comprehending the various gulfs. But that part more peculiarly denominated the "Sea of *Hind*," he reduces to the moderate space of five hundred and seventy-three farsangs in length from East to West, and of three hundred and fifty in breadth from South to North. And besides *Serándib*, (or Ceylon) there are, as he relates, many islands in this sea, inhabited and uninhabited; some of which yield "mines of precious "stones, gold and silver"(*27*).

(*26*) بحر الهند—طول آن از زمین چین تا حبشه دو هزار و ششصد و شصت و شش فرسنگ است و عرضش نهصد فرسنگ و ازین جمله سیصد و سی فرسنگ شمالی است از خط استوا و باقی در جنوب خط استوا است—و چنین گویند که در این دریا بیست هزار جزیره است

(Pers. MS. *Ajáib al Beldán.*)

(*27*) معدن جوهر و نقره و زر Our author notwithstanding the title of his work, has not restricted himself to *wonderful* subjects, nor merely to Asia. He describes many places both of Africa and of Europe and does not omit the great island *Britannia*, (برطانیه) although his notice of it is very brief.

The last oriental writer whom I shall here quote respecting the Indian ocean, is HAMDALLAH CAZVINI, distinguished in the fourteenth century for his excellence as a geographer, an historian, and a naturalist. From him we learn that the general body of water which encompasses this earth, and "which was denominated by Arabs, *Bahr Meheït* (the sea "that surrounds or embraces); by Persians, *Deryaï-Buzurg*, "(or the Great Sea); and by *Yunán* (or Greeks), *Okianus* "or the ocean;" is divided into seven *Khallj*, each being in "itself a considerable sea(28)"; and beginning eastward, he notices that, as the first and greatest, which derives its name from *Chín* and *Machín*, or China(29). He then proceeds to the second *Khallj*; "styled," says he, "the *Indian*, and also "the *Green* sea, and containing, as it is computed, about two "thousand three hundred islands, in which are many won-"derful things. And to this *Khallj* belong three gulfs or "bays, each a sea of ample dimensions. One is called after "*Omán*, (or *Ummán*), *Fars*, and *Basrah*(30); another, the sea of

(28) قوم عرب انرا بحر محیط و گروه عجم دریاي بزرگ و اهل یونان بحر وقیانوس خوانده‌اند و از ان هفت خلیج — و هریک بحري عظیمست —

(Pers. MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. Geographical Part. Sect. V.)

(29) دریاي چین و ماچین

(30) The Persian gulf.

"*Gulzum*(31), and the third is the sea of *Hamyat*(32). In each "are numerous islands, some of which shall be hereafter described. And from the main ocean until it reaches the gulfs, "this sea is reported to be in breadth five hundred farsangs(33)."

Through the great Indian ocean we continued our course, but the month of October terminated so very boisterously,

(31) The Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf. *Celzum*, or *Kulzum* قلزم, represents the name of *Clysma*, (the ancient Κλυσμα, situate at the northern extremity of this bay, in long. 63-20. lat. 28-30, according to Ptolemy). But the *Sea of Culzum*, says HAMDALLAH CAZVINI, is likewise called *Bahr ahmer* or the *Red Sea*. The Arabick adjective here used, *ahmer*, (احمر) must not be confounded with the proper name *Hemeir* or *Hamyer*, (حمير) bestowed by our Persian geographer on the gulf, below mentioned.

(32) Another passage extracted from HAMDALLAH's work, sufficiently proves this to be the Barbarick gulf or sea of the Greek and Roman geographers. "*The* "*Bahr-i-Hamyar*," says he, "is a Bay of the Indian ocean, and denominated by "some the *Bahr Barberi*, or Barbarick sea. Eastward of it is the Indian Ocean and "westward lies the region of *Hamyar*: Towards the North is the country of *Barber*," (بربر) and southward are the *Jebal-i-Kemr* (جبال قمر) or Mountains of the Moon. "This sea is smaller than the other two gulfs. Its length, which extends in a northern "direction, being reckoned 100 farsangs, and its breadth from East to West 33 farsangs, "and it contains many islands." The "Mountains of the Moon," are noticed by Ptolemy, (Lib. IV. c. 9). and appear under the same denomination in various accounts and maps of modern travellers and geographers. I shall not here digress into any inquiry respecting the "Barbarick gulf," but reserve for discussion in the appendix some perplexities which embarrass HAMDALLAH's Persian text, as above translated, after a collation of four manuscripts.

(33) خلیج دوم بحر هند و انرا بحر اخضر نیز گویند و در انجا قرب دو هزار و سیصد جزیره مسطوریست و در ان عجایب بسیار و آن بحررا سه لجه است که هر یک دریای بزرگیست یکی را دریای عمان و فارس و بصره نیز خوانند دوم را بحر قلزم خوانند سوم را بحر حمیر گویند و در هر یک جزایر بسیارست و بعضی را متغالب یاد خواهیم کرد و غرض این بحرنا بمحر محیط و بلجات رسیدن پانصد فرسنگ گفته اند Nov. Col.

that I almost expected to see realized some of those terrifying scenes, which the descriptions given in various accounts of voyages, had often presented to my imagination. Although the wind abated after a few hours, the weather was unpleasantly rough for seven days; but neither did our ship, nor the Chichester suffer any material injury. The most distressing incident that occurred during this tempestuous week, was the loss of a sailor, who fell overboard, and whose voice, a quartermaster standing on the deck, heard for a moment, imploring assistance; but all that could be afforded, without endangering the whole vessel, proved ineffectual. The night was extremely dark, the waves, according to a common mode of expression, running "mountains high," and the Lion rushing through them at the rate of eleven miles an hour. Yet it is possible that the wretched man, may (ere he sunk for ever) have caught some glimpses of the light in our cabin windows.

After four or five days of weather perfectly calm, during which several sharks were dragged on board and killed, we began to feel the trade-winds on the twenty-first of November, and next morning crossed the Tropick of Capricorn in East longitude 78-40. From the first of December we made but little progress until the twelfth, when a moderate breeze inspired us with the hopes of reaching Ceylon before the total consumption of our live stock; for while we were becalmed almost under the Equinoctial line, (Fahrenheit's thermometer being generally up to 83, and sometimes 84),

the sheep, turkies, ducks and chickens, that had been provided, in considerable numbers, at Rio de Janeiro, perished through some extraordinary disease. On the sixteenth, soon after day-break, we were gratified in discerning the mountains of Ceylon, distant about forty miles; "Adam's Peak" being pre-eminent among them. Yet we advanced but slowly towards that island on the seventeenth, so scanty was the wind. Some natives, however, came off in their canoes on the eighteenth, and brought us most acceptable cargoes of fish recently taken, cocoa-nuts, and pine-apples. A lieutenant also, who had been sent ashore, in one of the Lion's boats, returned at night with a further supply of fresh provisions; calves, chickens and eggs, besides fruit of different kinds.

At length, on the nineteenth, about one o'clock, we cast anchor, within half a league of Point de Galle, where the Russel, a ship of seventy-four guns, had just arrived from the Isle of Bourbon. Soon after, having landed with two officers of the Lion, and visited the town and fort, I dined at the house of Mr. Gibson, the naval agent. To him, likewise, others of our party, who went on shore the two following days, (while the Lion continued at anchor), were equally indebted for much polite attention and hospitality. On the twenty first, he obligingly accompanied Captain Heathcote and me, on an excursion (performed in small two-wheeled carriages, called *Bandies*) through delightful groves, to his *Bungalo*, or country-house, occupying an admirable situation,

amidst cinnamon trees, cocoas, arekas, and an infinite variety of shrubs and flowers, most beautiful and fragrant The cinnamon tree appeared to me in some respects like laurel. Here I first saw the Lotos, that celebrated aquatick plant, of which the ancient Egyptians, like the Indians, made use as a mystick symbol among their religious and allegorical devices(54). During a ramble of two or three hours on foot, we met some Ceylonese, or *Singhalese* priests, distinguished by their yellow garments. Through the kindness of Mr. Granville, an English gentleman, one of Mr. Gibson's guests, I this day obtained a very fine specimen of the tortoise-shell found here, and among the neighbouring islands, as in former ages(55);

(54) A species of the water-lily or *Nymphæa*. Herodotus describes the lily called *Lotos* by the Egyptians, as growing abundantly in water.—φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλὰ, τὸ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν. (Lib. II. c. 92). That which I saw was the *Nelumbo* of Linnæus, probably; for on Botanical subjects I must always speak with diffidence. Sir William Jones has noticed, "the veneration paid to the *Nymphæa* or *Lotos*, which "was anciently revered in Egypt, as it is at present in *Hindustán*, *Tibet*, and *Nepal*." See his "Essay on the Gods of Greece, Italy and India." (Asiat. Researches, Vol. I. p. 243, oct. edit.) This, says Mr. Maurice, "is the majestic Lotos, in whose con-"secrated bosom Brahma was born, and Osiris delights to float." (Indian Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 232). On the mythological history of this celebrated plant much has been written. Yet I shall have occasion to add a few remarks in one of the subsequent chapters.

(55) Strabo mentions particularly the ivory and tortoise-shell, which, with other articles of traffick, were exported from Ceylon to the Indian markets.—ἐξ ἧς καὶ ἐλέφαντα κομίζεσθαι πολὺν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐμπόρια καὶ χελώνια &c.—Geograph. lib II. We find also χελῶναι, or tortoise-shell, enumerated among the products of this island in the "Periplus of the Erythrean sea," generally ascribed to Arrian.—See the second volume of Dr. Vincent's Works, (Sequel to the Periplus, &c. p. 523), and the Greek text which he published separately, p. 114.

also twenty-one pieces of the wood produced in Ceylon(36). This collection comprehends some of the *Bogaha* tree, venerated by the natives as sacred(37). Fahrenheit's

(36) All these pieces were numbered and marked with the original names, but these on two, are no longer legible; of the others I shall here subjoin the names:—1. *Jak.*—2. *Bogaha.*—3. *Aballoo.*—4. *Kebbella.*—5. *Goda pera.*—6. *Nadoon.*—7. *Heru.*—8. *Kerrepodda.*—9. *Healamba.*—10. *Neanedda.*—11. *Weljamboo.*—12. *Parer.*—13. *Moeroota.*—14. *Menderer.*—15. *Wannieddeler.*—16. *Dodangkaha.*—17. *Cone Liya.*—18. *Kokatie.*—19. *Dawatta.* One piece of which I cannot ascertain the name, is singularly beautiful: the wood (very hard and heavy) consisting of a brownish ground with black stripes, and some small bright yellow spots and veins. The piece is of an oblong square form, and those parts which, when viewed longitudinally, constitute the black stripes, appear at each end of the piece, as small round spots. A coloured representation given in the miscellaneous plate, will serve, perhaps, better than any verbal description, to convey an idea of this uncommon wood. It is probably, the *Calaminder*, which in Mr. Cordiner's "History of Ceylon," (Vol. I. p. 381) we find noticed as "most valuable and beautiful, extremely hard, of a dark chocolate colour, clouded "like marble, streaked with veins of black and pale yellow."

(37) "I shall mention," says Knox, "but one tree more, as famous and highly set "by as any of the rest, if not more, though it bears no fruit, the benefit consisting "chiefly in the holiness of it. This tree they call *Bogauhah*: we, the God-Tree. "It is very great and spreading: the leaves always shake like an asp. They have a "very great veneration for these trees, worshipping them upon a tradition, that "Buddou, a great God among them, when he was upon the earth, did use to sit "under this kind of trees. There are many of these trees which they plant all the "land over, and have more care of than of any other. They pave round about them "like a key, sweep often under them to keep them clean; they light lamps and set "up their images under them; and a stone table is placed under some of them to lay "their sacrifices on; they set them every where in towns and highways, where any "convenient places are; they serve also for shade to travellers; they will also set "them in memorial of persons deceased, to wit, there where their bodies were burnt." —"It is religion also, to sweep under the *Bogauhah* or God-Tree, and keep it clean." —(See Knox's "Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon."—Part I. c. 4.—Part III. c. 5.) On the religious, or, at least, superstitious respect, with which trees have been regarded in various countries, this work will afford me another opportunity of making some observations.

thermometer did not rise this day at Point de Galle above 77, and the air was extremely pleasant.

In the evening Captain Heathcote and I rejoined our friends on board the Lion. A despatch, for which alone, the Ambassador had delayed his voyage during several hours, having arrived from Columbo, the seat of government, we immediately weighed anchor and sailed.

But I must recall the attention of my reader to that "utmost Indian isle, Taprobané," as Ceylon is described by Milton(28). The name *Taprobané*, which our immortal poet bestows on it, appears to have been derived by the Greeks from an original denomination, (probably a compound) in the ancient language of India(29). This also furnished *Lanka* or

(28) Parad. Reg. (Book IV. line 76.)

(29) Respecting the signification of this name, (Taprobane) two etymological conjectures have been offered, but I cannot ascertain that either has yet received the sanction of manuscripts. From a note in the English translation of ABU'L FAZL'S "*Ayin Akbery*," (Calcutta edition, Vol. III. p. 36) we learn that "there are many reasons for concluding *Lanka* to have been part of the *Taprobane* of the ancients; and "that *Taprobane*, or more properly *Tapobon*, which in Sanskrit signifies, the "wilderness of prayer," was a very large island, including the whole or the greater part of "the *Maldivey* islands, which have since been destroyed by inundations."—The "Asiatick Researches" contain a memoir. (Vol. V. p. 30, Oct. Ed.) written by Mr. Duncan, who mentions that *tank* in Ceylon, called the "Tank of RAVAN or RABAN," "(the *b* and *v* being pronounced indifferently in various parts of India,) from whom this "*Tapa* or island, may probably have received its ancient appellation of *Taprobane*, i. e. "the isle of RABAN;"—a giant of Ceylon, whose wars with RAMA are celebrated in the Sanscrit poem, entitled *Remayana*.

Lanka-Ilam, *Salabham*, *Salabha-dip*, *Salika*, *Seren-dip* or *Selendiba*, and others enumerated by a late ingenious writer(40). But *Singala-dwipa* or *Dweepa*, (signifying the island of *Singala*), is the true *Sanskrit* name, according to a learned orientalist, particularly conversant with the most abstruse dialects, and the early literature of Hindustán(41).

The name however, as generally expressed in Arabick and Persian manuscripts, *Serándib*, *Seránduv*, or *Serendíb*, has probably been long familiar among Asiaticks, since we find it noticed by Ammianus Marcellinus, who composed his Latin history, a few years after ambassadors had been sent from various nations of India with presents to the Roman emperor, in the fourth century of our era(42). We learn from TABRI, or TABARI, a writer of the ninth

(40) See Dr. Vincent's "Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," Vol. II. p. 493. (Peripl. of the Eryth. Sea,) and the "highly curious Treatise on Ceylon," to which he refers, p. 494, published in the "Asiatick Researches," (Vol. VII.) by Moor. See also, the "Hindu Pantheon," another of Major Moor's works. (See Append. No. 14).

(41) Mr. Hamilton, as quoted by Dr. Vincent, Peripl. Vol. II. p. 496.

(42) "——inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante "tempus abusque *Diris* et *Serendiris*."—(Amm. Marc. Lib. xxii.) In the edition of this historian's work, printed at Paris by Robert Stephens, (8vo. 1544, p. 240), and in Lindenbrog's edition, (Hamb. 1609, 4to. p. 227), we read "abusque *Indis* et *Serindis*." But as Valesius, in the notes subjoined to his edition, (Paris 1636, 4to. p. 214). assures us, this reading was first introduced by Gelenius, (a man of letters, who died at Basil in 1554), while those manuscripts preserved in the Royal and Florentine libraries, exhibit the words as above-written *Diris* et *Serendiris*; "Sic primus cor- "rexit Gelenius——Ego vero codicis Regii et Flor. scripturam sequi malui quæ sic "habet Divis et Serindivis," &c.

century, and by a competent judge entitled, "the Livy "of the Arabians(43);" that "*Serándib* is an Indian mountain, "than which the whole world does not contain one of greater "heighth"(44). I doubt whether we possess any Arabick or Persian works that make earlier mention of this name.

The passage above quoted alludes to a tradition respecting the fall of Adam from Paradise, and his descent upon the summit of Mount *Serandib*, which has by several writers been indicated as the place of his sepulture. We read in the *Berhan Kattea*, a manuscript dictionary of the Persian

(43) "The great TABARI, who is the Livy of the Arabians, the very parent of their "history; and as far as I could find by enquiry, given over for lost in Arabick." See "Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens" (Vol. II. Intr. p. xxxiii.) Notwithstanding such discouragement, I am induced, by reasons assigned in the account of Eastern manuscripts (at the beginning of this work) to hope that TABRI's Arabick text may yet be recovered. In the following pages I shall often have occasion to quote his *Tarikh* or chronicle, according to the Persian translation, made within a few years after he died; and so improved by valuable additions, that D'Herbelot thought it "beaucoup plus curieuse "que le texte Arabique," (Bibl. Orient. in *Thabari*). Yet a perfect copy of the Arabick text seems to me most highly desirable, after a collation of some fragments among my own manuscripts, and of others that I have examined in a publick library, with the Persian translation. As it will be necessary to mention this historian more particularly in the account of my visit to his birth-place, (*Amol* or *Amul*, an ancient city not far from the Caspian sea), I shall here only observe that he derived the surname of TABRI (طبري) from his native province *Tabristan*, (طبرستان) and not from the city of *Tabriz*, (تبريز) as one ingenious writer, through some inadvertency, appears to imagine. TABRI was born in the year of our era 838, and lived until 922.

(44) ادم علیه السلام بهندوستان افتاد و کوهیست که انجا کوه سراندیب خوانند و چنین گویند که بهمه جهان اندر نیست کوهی از ان بلندتر ادم بسر ان کوه بر زمینیم آمد

See the M.S. *Tarikh Tabri*, (Sect. VIII. according to my oldest copy).

language, that "*Serandib* (or *Serandil*) is the name of a "celebrated mountain, whereon the venerable Adam, (to "whom be the blessing of God!) descended from Paradise "and resided. And the impression of his footstep still exists "there. Some affirm that *Serandib* is a considerable city on "the sea shore, and that the mountain derives its name from "the city. It is likewise reported that here is interred "the father of mankind"(45). Adam's grave we must suppose of considerable extent, since the impression left by his foot, on the rock of *Serandib*, was almost equal in length to seventy Persian *gaz*(46), for so HAMDALLAH CAZVINI relates in the course of a passage, from which it will here suffice to extract the beginning. "*Serandib*," says this geographer, "one of the most celebrated mountains, is "situate in *Sakelán*, an Island of the Indian ocean. "And according to the work styled *Ajaïeb al Makh-"lúkát*, (or "Wonders of the Creation"), Adam, on "whom be the peace of God! descended here. In the "language of India it is called *Daher*, and exceeds all "the mountains of that region in loftiness, so that it may be

(45) سراندیب نام کوهي است مشهور که ادم صفی علیه السلام از بهشت بدانجا فرود امد ومقام کرد و نقش قدم او در انجا هست و بعضي گویند نام شهریست بر لب دریا و ان کوه منسوب بان شهرست و گویند قبر ابو البشر در انجاست .

(46) The gaz (گز) is equivalent to forty inches of our English measure.

"discerned from the sea at a distance of several days' "voyage"(47). He proceeds to inform us that it abounds with serpents and scorpions; and adds, in a subsequent page, that among the principal islands of the Indian ocean, "*Sakelán*, is most celebrated; extending eighty farsangs "in length and breadth; and *(in)* this island is the mountain "called *Serandib*, where, it is said, our great ancestor Adam "(on whom be the blessing of God!) descended from "Paradise. And although Adam (peace be to him!) crossed "through the sea on foot; ships now sail over the place "of his passage, during the space of two or three days' "voyage. And in that mountain, and its vicinity, are "found precious stones of various colours, diamonds, crys-

(47) کوه سراندیب از مشاهیر جبال است و در جزیره سیلان بحر هند واقعست و در عجایب المخلوقات آمده که آنجا مهبط آدم علیه السلام واقع شده بزبان هند دهر خوانند و از همه جبال آن حدود بلندتر است و پیمند روزه راه در بحر توان دید

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*, (Chapt. of Mountains). The *Farheng Jehangiri* quotes a passage from ASZDI, wherein this poet styles the mountain *Rahu*, and compares it in loftiness to the moon and celestial spheres—

بکوه رهو برگرفتند راه
چه کوبی بلندیش بر چرخ وماه

(See the *Jehang*: in voce. (رهو). But the name of this mountain was *Rehún*, according to EDRISI.

واسم هذا الجبل جبل الرهون

(Nub: Geogr: clim. 1. sect. 8.) And the two Mohammedan travellers of the ninth century call it *Rehoun* as Renaudot writes the name "Anc: Relat: des Indes, &c." p. 3.

"tals, and the *Sunbadej*(48); aloes wood, and other fragrant "or aromatick substances. There also are the deer that "produce musk, and many civet-cats. And near the "island, pearls are obtained by means of divers"(49).

(48) From the Persian Dictionaries, *Jehangiri* and *Berhan Katte*, and from other manuscripts we learn that (سنباده) *Sunbadeh*, or as the Arabians write it *Sunbadej* (سنبادج) is a certain stone, with which knives, swords and similar things are sharpened. That it is also used in the cutting and polishing of gems for seals. That in India it is sometimes administered as a medicine, or applied as a depilatory: and that mines of it are found in some islands of the Chinese ocean. This information seems partly derived from HAMDALLAH CAZVINI, who in that portion of his work which relates to mineralogy, describes the *Sunbadej*, as—"a sandy and rough stone, used "by the jewellers in piercing hard gems; and when pulverized and rubbed on "beards, that have decayed through age, it serves to restore them; and applied as "a dentifrice it purifies the teeth.—

سنبادج سنگي ريگناک خشن است جواهرکان سنگهاي صلب بدان سوراخ کنند سحق کرده بر ريشهاي کهن مانند صبت دهد و بر دندان مانند مسواک پاک کند MS. *Nuz. Col.*

In the first part of this account we discover the Emery (Σμυρις or Σμυρις), which, it appears, ancient artists employed for the same purpose as modern.—See Hesychii Lex. (ed. Alberti, Tom. II. p. 1231), and Dioscorides, V. 166). An Arabick manuscript, (TIFASHI's treatise on jewels), represents the name as written *Zunbadej* (زنبادج), See the "Specimen Arabicum de Gemmis," &c. published by Ravius Traj. ad Rhen. 1784), who, on the subject of this stone, only observes that it is "Lapis quo poliuntur adamantes."

(49) و از جزاير اصلي اين خليج انيه مشهورست جزيره سقطن که هشتاد فرسنگ درهشتاد فرسنگست و کوه سراندیب که ابو البا عليه السلام گويند از بهشت انجا هبوط کرد اين جزيره است و چندانکه آدم عم در آن بحر بپاي رفته است اکنون کشتي بدو سه روز ميرسد و بران کوه و حوالیش معادن یاقوت الوان و الماس و بلور و سنبادج و چوب عود و ديگر عطريات و ادوي مشکين و کربهٔ زياد بسيار ست و در حوالي اين جزيره غوص مرواريد ميکنند—(MS. *Nozhat al Celub*. Sect. V.)

I know not whether any of our writers have hitherto enumerated, among the various names bestowed on this island, *Sakelan*, above-mentioned, or perhaps *Siklan*; for the manuscripts in which it occurs, do not express the vowel accent, which would ascertain the true pronunciation of its first syllable. It preserves, in either form, more component letters, however transposed, of *Salike*, (as Ceylon was called when Ptolemy composed his geography) than of any other name that the Greek and Latin classicks afford(*). Yet were there not, among several copies of HAMDALLAH's work, besides the four in my own collection, (transcripts, as well Indian and Turkish, as Persian; of different ages, and various sorts of hand-writing) the most perfect agreement concerning this word, I should have suspected that by a mistake, unfortunately too frequent in oriental manuscripts, one letter had been substituted for another, and *Sailán*, or *Silán*, transformed into *Saklán*, or *Siklán*. Even the eye, least accustomed to Arabick characters, must easily perceive a resemblance between سقلن and سيلن.

(*) "Taprobane," says Ptolemy (Lib. VII. c. 4). "which was called in former "times *Simundu*, but now *Salike*,"—ἥτις ἐκαλεῖτο πάλαι Σιμοῦνδου νῦν δὲ Σαλική.— The words of this passage appear thus arranged by Stephanus Byzantius, (De Urbib. in Ταπροβανη), Ἡ πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Σιμοῦνδου, νῦν δὲ Σαλική.— Here we find πάλαι *formerly*, separated from the proper name *Simundu*. Yet Pliny entitles the chief city of this island *Palæsimundum*, "Oppido Palæsimundo omnium ibi clarissimo,— (Nat. Hist. Lib. VI. c. 22). The island is itself denominated Παλαισιμοῦνδου by others.

A Persian dictionary describes *Sailan*, (having marked its vowel accent) as the "name of that well-known region, from "which is brought the fine cinnamon"(51). And with an adjunct term *diu* or *div*, (signifying like *dwipa*, in the language of India, "an Island,") this name becomes *Selandive*, as it is written by the intelligent Portuguese, Pedro Teixeira, whose history of Persia, and the account of his travels, (chiefly over land) from India to Italy, published in Spanish by himself, form a book which is at present of considerable rarity(52).

(51) سیلن — بفتح اول نام ولایتی است مشهور که دارچینی خوب از انجا اورند
(M. S. *Berhan Kattia.*)

(52) A Portuguese settlement on the Indian coast, is called *Diu*, says this ingenious traveller, from *Dive*, not the proper name, but a word signifying in its general sense *an island*, the final letter *e* being pronounced by the natives with extraordinary sweetness or softness (pronunciando la ultima *e suavissimamente*). This enters into the composition of various names, *Ange-dive*, *Nale-dive*, or *Mal-dito*, *Selandive*, as is called by Persians and Arabians, the island of Seylan (or Ceylon), &c. "Dive "que quiere dezir Isla, como tambien dizen Ange dive (cinco islas): Naledive "que los Portuguezes dizen Maldiva, (quatro islas), Selandive, la isla de "Seylan, &c." And again he mentions "Selandyve, como ya se dixo: es la isla de "Seylan, assi la llaman Parsios y Arabes," &c. See p. 85 and 164 of the "Relaciones "de Pedro Teixeira del origen descendencia y succesion, de los Reyes de Persia "y de Hormuz; y de un Viage hecho por el mismo autor desde la India oriental hasta "Italia por tierra," (Amberes, 1610, 8vo). That he was *not*, as generally supposed, a Spaniard, although his book is written "*en* lengua Castellana," (this being more general than his own language) appears from the address "al lector," wherein he mentions "mi lengua materna Portugueza," and from his "Relacion del Camino," or "Viage," which begins thus; "Estando el ano de 1600 en la ciudad y fortaleza "de Malaca, situada en aquella parte que los antiguos llamaro Aurea Chersoneso, des-"seoso de passar à Portogal mi patria, &c." This work is valued in Triphook's "Catalogue of books," (Lond. 1810, No. 994), at four pounds; and a note acquaints us that at the sale of Colonel Stanley's library, its price amounted to seven guineas. The historical part, (and that only) of Teixeira's work, was published in English by *Captain John Stevens*, (Lond. 1715, 8vo).

It has been doubted, from the silence of Pliny, Ptolemy, Dioscorides, and other early writers, whether cinnamon, which in the dictionary above quoted, seems particularly indicated as a staple commodity of Ceylon, was known among its ancient products. The Persian name, *dár chini*, (the Chinese tree, or wood), bespeaks a different origin: and we know that some commercial intercourse subsisted between China and Persia, through the medium of Ceylon, when Cosmas, or rather Sopatrus, noticed the *Chiniches*(53): But, according to Teixeira, the cinnamon was called *Dar Chiny Seylani*, merely to describe it as a substance exported from Ceylon by the Chinese, who once conducted the maritime traffick between this island and *Hormuz*, *Keish*, and the continent of Persia(54). It would be interesting, nevertheless, to ascertain how long this

(53) *Trinitza Τζουτζια*, or *Trinitæ Τζουτζιαται*.—The modern Greeks thus endeavour to express our English *ch* or *tch*: the Italian *c* before *e* or *i*, as in *certo*, *cicatrice*, which they write *τζέρτο*, *τζικατρίζε* (See the "Vocabolario Italiano e Greco Portatile, &c." Venezia. 1794, 12mo). Cosmas, surnamed *Indicopleustes*, composed an account of his Indian voyages early in the sixth century; but derived what he relates concerning Ceylon, chiefly from Sopatrus, who had actually visited that island, and died about the year of Christ, 500. Cosmas's work, entitled "Christian Topography," was published by Montfaucon in Greek, with a Latin translation.—See the Collect. Nov. Patrum et Script. Græc. Paris, 1707. (2 vols. folio).

(54) "Llamanle Persios y Arabes a la de Seylan, Dar-Chiny Seylani, que es Palo "de los Chinas de Seylan, porque los Chinas la trahyan de Seylan a Harmuz o Keis, "y a la Persia, quando navegavan aquel mar y tenian aquel comercio."

Relacion, p. 186.

spicy bark has borne the name of "Chinese wood," which is mentioned by MUKHTARI, a Persian poet of the eleventh century(35), and might have been employed by Eastern authors long before his time, since, through the Armenian "Geography," ascribed to Moses of Chorene(36), the "*Bud-*

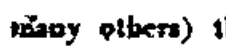
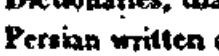
(35) See the MS. *Farhang Jehangiri*, wherein two couplets of MUKHTARI are quoted, to illustrate the words (دار پرنیان) *dár parniún*. One line thus mentions *dár chín*,—

زآن دار چین آمد زین دار پرنیان

The poet, OTHMAN MUKHTARI (عثمان مختاری) flourished at *Ghaznah*, under SULTAN IBRAHIM, who died in the year 492 of the Mohammedan era, (or of Christ 1098), according to the Manuscript Biographical History, composed by DOWLET SHAH of *Samarcand*.

(36) See page 367 of that work which follows the Armenian history, published with a Latin translation by the two brothers W. and G. Whiston, (London, 1730). I should not hesitate to quote like others, both the geography and history as compositions of Moses Chorenensis, who lived in the fifth century, had not a very learned antiquary, the Baron de Sainte Croix, attributed them to another Armenian, not older than the commencement of the eighth century. See a memoir in the "Journal "des Savans." (Avril 1789). Whichever may be the true date, we find the Armenian author express *Chín* by Չին *Tzin*, or *Dzhin*, and with a local adjunct *Tzinastan*, or *Dzhinastan*, Չինաստան (which the translators latinize into *Zenastania*), the "place or country of Chinese." That this adjunct has been borrowed from the Persians we can hardly doubt; but though I had many opportunities of studying Schroder's grammar under intelligent Armenians, my knowledge of their language scarcely extends beyond the alphabet. It is easy, however, to perceive in both those works published by the Whistons, a multiplicity of Persian names, derived, undoubtedly, from the ancient and genuine annals of *Irán*, and very slightly altered. We may even discover (in the *Hist. Arm.* p. 96). that hero of Persian romance, the celebrated RUSTAM, who, according to legends which the Armenian writer justly condemns as unworthy of belief, exceeded in bodily strength one hundred and twenty elephants!

dehesh," a manuscript work in *Pahlavi*, or ancient Persick(57), and the Greek "Topography," of Cosmas already quoted(58), we can trace both words, *dar* and *chin*, even to the fifth century, occurring separately. Indeed, by whatever name cinnamon may have been called in the Chinese or Ceylonese language, (for to China or Ceylon we must assign it as an original product), the Persian denomination,

(57) We find *Chin*, with that adjunct mentioned in the last note, (and so common in Persian names, as *Hindustan*, *Turkestan*, *Laristan*, *Khuzistan*, *Curdistan*, and many others) thus appear under its *Pahlavi* form  *Chinistan*, according to a copy of the *Bundehesh*, which I fortunately procured among the *Parsis* or, as they are often styled, the fire-worshippers, at Bombay, fairly written on eighty nine quarto pages. Anquetil du Perron's excellent French translation of this work, (which he assigns to the seventh century), was published with his *Zendavesta*, (Tome II), under the title of "*Boun-dehesch*; Cosmogonie des Parses." And the reader will there see, (p. 381) the *Pahlavi* word above quoted thus expressed "*Tchinestan*. He will also discover (p. 404) that *dar* signifies in a general sense such trees as do not bear palatable or nutritious fruit—"tout arbre dont le fruit n'est pas propre "a servir de nourriture a l'homme, &c." On referring to my *Pahlavi* text, I find the word thus written *dar*; and in the same page, added to another, as *Sepid-dar*, or "white tree," (so the poplar is still called in Persia); *Shem-dar*, or the "hairy tree." It appears also from the same work, (See "Zendavesta," Tome II. p. 404), and from the *Berhan Kattea*, and other MS. Dictionaries, that *dar* may be considered as synonimous with *derakht*, (in modern Persian written درخت) which the manuscript *Bundehesh* exhibits thus in *Pahlavi* characters 

(58) See page 41, (note 53,) which shows that although Cosmas wrote in the sixth century, his information respecting Ceylon may be dated in the fifth. *Chinistan* appears under the name of *Tzinista* (Τζινιστα) in his "Topographia Christiana," lib. 2 et 11).—See Montfaucon's Collect. Nov. Patrum, &c.

comprehending both terms, *dár* and *chín*, is found in the Armenian "Geography" adapted to a foreign idiom(57). But I cannot recollect any passage wherein this spice is named by AASEM of *Cufah*, TABRI, or FIRDAUSI, writers, respectively, of the eighth, the ninth and the tenth century. Yet their pages, which sometimes dazzle the reader's imagination with accounts of royal treasures, and of splendid gifts interchanged between Eastern sovereigns, notice as frequently, the rare natural productions of distant countries, as the richest works of art. And we find sable furs, striped and spotted skins, the teeth of elephants, musk, camphor, ambergris, and aloes; classed with golden crowns, thrones, vases; drinking-cups and armour; among rings, collars, bracelets, pendants, girdles, and other ornaments, studded with most brilliant jewels.

(57) Darizenic. See "Mos. Choren. Geogr." p. 367. So the Latin translators render Դարևիկ ՏէՏիկ "Nascitur ibi (in *Zenia*) Darizenio," which, a note informs us, "Arabicè *Cinnamomum* notat." But the Arabs for *Chín* write *Sin* (صين) as a reference to EDRISI, and ABULFEDA, will prove, and as Sir William Jones has remarked in his "Discourse on the Chinese." (Asiat. Res. Vol. II. p. 371, octv.) "The territory of *Chín*, so called by the old *Hindus*, by the *Persians*, and "by the *Chinese*, (while the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were obliged by their defective arti-"culation to miscall it *Sin*), gave its name to a race of emperors, &c." FIRDAUSI, the Persian Homer of the tenth century, frequently mentions (چين) *Chín*; whether TABRI in the ninth called it *Sin*, is uncertain, as we do not yet possess his Arabick Chronicle. But the Persian translator of it, who lived in the tenth century, uses *Chín*, like FIRDAUSI, and *Chín-estan* (چينستان) like Moses Chorenensis and Cosmas Indicopleustes above quoted. *Chín* and *Sin* will remind the classical reader of *Thinæ* and *Sinæ*, names concerning which so many learned men have published their opinions.

Although Teixeira describes the cinnamon of Ceylon as more excellent than any produced elsewhere, yet he denies that this island furnishes either gold or silver, or any precious stones, besides *cats eyes*, very perfect, and a few rubies, which he thinks of doubtful origin(60). We have seen, however, that an eminent Persian naturalist and geographer supposes it to be rich even in diamonds(61). The two Mohammedan travellers, who visited *Serándib* in the ninth century, (and of whose interesting narrative, published by Renaudot, the authenticity is most completely established,) celebrate the valuable gems, red, yellow and green,(62) discovered here, sometimes deposited by torrents, which gush from caverns among the mountains,

(60) "La grande quantitad de Canela fina que en ella se coge, que en bondad "excede a toda la de otras partes, &c. "Seylan, no produze oro ni plata ni metal "alguno precioso, ni piedras de estima sino son ojos de Gato, que los della son "perfettissimos; y algunos Rubies, de los quales hay duda si los produze la "isla, o si son trahydos a ella de otra parte." Relacion, p. 186.

(61) HAMDALLAH CAZVINI, quoted in page 37.

(62) "On tire de la montagne de *Serendib* des pierres precieuses de differentes "couleurs, de rouges, de vertes et de jaunes, &c." See "Anciennes Relations des "Indes et de la Chine," (p. 103, Par. 1718). Mons. Langlès has announced his intention of publishing the text of this work from an Arabick manuscript in the Royal library at Paris, with a new French translation. That it was a spurious composition had been without reason suspected, but all doubts were dispelled by the learned De Guignes, who in the "Extraits et Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du "Roi," (Tome I. p. 156), has proved it to be genuine. And Mr. Barrow, whose testimony is of considerable weight, notices the accuracy and veracity with which the two Mohammedans composed their narratives. "Almost every thing they have "related," says he, "concerning China at this early period (the ninth century) is "found to be true at the present day." Travels in China, (p. 76); and in another passage (p. 390) he farther confirms the authenticity of their work.

and frequently found in mines. The *Tohfat al ajaïeb*, one of the Arabick manuscripts before mentioned (see p. 22) assures us, that *Serandib* yielded "various kinds of *Yakût*, "(rubies, carbuncles, hyacinths, and jewels of the same "class) with other precious stones, besides different aromatick "and fragrant substances"(63).

Some Greek and Roman authors have noticed the gold and silver, the beryls, hyacinths, and gems of every sort, abounding in Taprobane(64). And the learned Bochart considered it as the *Ophir*, whence "*algum*-trees (or *almug* "trees) and precious stones, gold and silver, ivory and apes, "and peacocks," were brought, once every three years, in the ships of Tarshish, to decorate the temple and royal palace at Jerusalem(65). I have already noticed one and twenty

(63) من الوان الياقيت و الحجارة النفيسة واصناف العطر و الانارية—

(64) See, besides others, Ptolemy, (Geogr. Lib. VII. cap. 4). Pliny, (Nat. Hist. Lib. VI. cap. 22). Solinus, (Polyhist. cap. 56).

(65) See among the Biblical records, I. Kings, ch. ix. 28. and x. 11 and 22.— II. Chronicles, ch. ix. 10 and 21. See also Bochart's Geogr. Sacr. (Phaleg) Lib. II. c. 27; wherein he affirms that every circumstance required to constitute the Ophir, (אופיר) of Hebrew scripture, may be found in the classical Taprobane, our modern Ceylon; "quia Taprobanæ insulæ, (quam Zeilan esse alibi probabo) omnia "ad amussim quadrant quæ de Ophira legere est in libris Regum et Paralipomenon. "Ibi enim aurum et ebur, gemmasque et margaritas magnâ copiâ nasci nemo est "qui nesciat. Scatere etiam pavonibus, scribit Steuckius in Arrianum. Et in "Chersoneso proximâ magni pretii cercopithecos memorat Ludovicus Vartomanus." In the second part of his Sacred Geography, or "Chanaan," (Lib. I. cap. 46) he collates diagrammatically, the proofs offered in support of his opinion by classical writers and modern geographers, travellers and others.

different kinds of wood, produced in this island; many being very handsome, and one of extraordinary beauty(66).

Whether Ceylon was the *Ophir* of Jewish history, has been disputed by many ingenious Europeans(67). The Arabian and Persian writers whose works have fallen into my hands, seem unacquainted with the triennial navigation of Solomon's

(66) Whatever may be the name of this fine wood, (see p. 32), it does not correspond in colour, to that sort of pine (ξύλων πευκίνων) which Josephus describes as resembling the fig-tree, (τὴν συκῆν), but whiter and more bright or shining, (λευκότερα δὲ ἐστι καὶ στίλβοντα πλέον), and which was brought from the land called "Golden," (ἀπὸ τῆς χρυσῆς καλουμένης γῆς) or the Indian country of *Sophira* (Σωφιρᾶ) for king Solomon's use. (Joseph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. VIII. cap. 6 and 7). It can scarcely be doubted that the Jewish historian alludes to those אלגומים or אלמגים *algum* or *almug*-trees, which the navy of Hiram brought from Ophir.—See the Bible as above quoted.

(67) "Which Ophir," says Dr. Wells, "is confessedly a place in the *East Indies*." Hist. Geogr. of the Old Test. (Vol. I. p. 147, ed. 1711). It was on the Eastern coast of *Africa*, according to Montesquieu, who thinks that the imperfect construction of their vessels would not allow the sailors employed by Solomon to venture far at sea.—"Cette navigation se faisoit sur la côte orientale de l'Afrique, et l'état "où étoit la marine pour lors, prouve assez, &c." Esprit des Loix, Liv. xxi. ch. vi. We have seen that Bochart regarded *Ceylon* or *Taprobane* as the ancient Ophir; but against this opinion Bruce's words are positive—The island of *Ceylon* in the "East Indies," says he, "*could not be Ophir*." (Travels, &c. Vol. II. ch. 4.) Reland (Dissert. Miscell. Tom. I. p. 171,) would seek Ophir in the Peninsula of India.—"Videtur mihi illa in India Orientali quaerenda," &c. Ophir (Σωφίρα) was the golden Chersonese of India, according to Josephus, (Antiq. Jud. lib. viii). But it would be a laborious task, and unnecessary here, to notice more particularly the various conjectures offered on this subject by Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Philo Judaeus, Rabbi Abraham Peritsol, R. David Kimchi, Volaterranus, Ortelius, Varrerius, Vertomannus, Montanus, Salmasius, Grotius, Prideaux, D'Anville, Michaelis, Gosselin, and many other learned men, who place Ophir in Arabia, in India, at Sofala in *Africa*, in the island of Sumatra, and of Socotra, on the European continent in Spain, and even in South America, and the island of Hispaniola!

fleet, and do not offer, amidst the numerous traditions which they preserve concerning that mighty sovereign, any confirmation of Bochart's opinion, nor indeed of the conjectures made by other antiquaries. Yet the *Garshasp Namah*, a Persian poem of the tenth(*) or eleventh century, (for ASEDI, who composed it lived in both,) records an extraordinary naval expedition undertaken against the vassal king of Ceylon at the command of a powerful monarch, appearing from certain coincidences, noticed by Eastern authors, as the

(*) We learn from an anecdote related by DOWLET SHAH, in the *Tezkerreh* or Biographical History of Persian poets, that ASEDI (اسدي) was the preceptor of FIRDAUSI, and not only encouraged him by constant advice and instruction in composing his great *Shahnamah* or "Book of Kings,"

و فردوسي را بر نظم شاهنامه دائما اشارت میکرده &c.

but actually contributed the four thousand distichs which terminate that work. This Biographer has not particularly noticed the time of ASEDI's birth: FIRDAUSI however when dying in the year 1020, addressed his venerable master as an aged man, for whom it would prove a troublesome undertaking to complete the *Shahnamah*.

فردوسي گفت اي استاد تو پيري مشكل كه بدست تو اين كار كفايت شود

We may therefore conclude that the greater part of ASEDI's life had been spent in the tenth century. It appears that, like his illustrious pupil, he was of *Tus* (طوس) in *Khorasan*. The *Garshasp namah* گرشاسپ نامه relates many surprising adventures of a Persian chief, GARSHASP the son of ATREK or UTHKED (اترط or اترد); and we find a copy of this rare work enumerated among the valuable Manuscripts brought from India to France by Anquetil du Perron. "*Guerschasp-namah*, histoire en vers de "Guerschasp, et de plusieurs autres heros Iraniens, sous Zohâk et sous les premiers Rois "de la Dynastie des Keanides" (See "Zendavesta," Tome. I. Part. I. Append: p. DXXXVI.) The manuscript *Farhangs* or Dictionaries *Surûri*, *Jehangiri*, and others, quote ASEDI as a critick eminently conversant in various dialects of the Persian language.

contemporary of Solomon(67): and in respect to local habitation, nearly identified with that most sapient of men, his palace being at Jerusalem(70). It were vain to expect much

(67) ZOHAK, (ضحاک) also called DHOHAK, but more correctly DEHAK, (دهاک) had usurped the throne of *Irán*, or Persia, and with it the empire of many neighbouring states. We find him residing in an *Aiwan*, (ایوان) or palace at Jerusalem, while he possessed the imperial "Edifice of Forty Spires," (*Chehel minár* چهل منار) or "Hall of the Thousand Columns," (*Hezár Setún*, هزارستون) at Persepolis, from which he had expelled king JEMSHID; besides the paradisiacal place of abode, named *Geng i-Behesht* (گنگ بهشت) or *Geng-i-Diz*, (گنگ دز) constructed by himself, at Babylon, afterwards ruined, then repaired by Alexander, but since reduced to a mere heap or pile, still visible near the town of *Hilleh*, (حله) as the *Jehangiri*, and other manuscripts inform us. According to AZDI, he held his court at Jerusalem, when MAHRAJ, (مهراج) the sovereign paramount in India, but tributary to him, solicited aid in chastising a rebellious prince on whom he had bestowed the government of Ceylon. ZOHAK consequently despatched a numerous fleet and army under the command of GARSHASP to co-operate with the Indian emperor. I shall remark in another chapter of this work, the circumstances which, among Eastern writers, confound Solomon with JEMSHID. Admitting this confusion, we must regard ZOHAK who dethroned JEMSHID, as contemporary of Solomon. But according to less fanciful chronology, the ZOHAK of Arabian historians might be supposed that monarch whose Persian surname DEHAK, the ancient Greeks had rendered *Deiokes*, Δηϊόκης, by adding the termination so common in their language. That *Dehak* was the same king as *Deiokes*, our learned Hyde of Oxford was fully convinced, (Hist. Relig. Veter. Pers. cap. xiv), although he has not offered any proofs. These I shall endeavour to supply hereafter; observing merely at present, that the name DEHAK is thus represented in *Pahlavi* Characters, according to my MS. *Bundeshesh*, already quoted.

(68) AZDI informs us that GARSHASP the Persian general, "proceeded by way of "Syria, to *Diz Hukht Geng*, which is also entitled (in Arabick) *Beit al mukeds*, or "the Holy House," and was called, when ZOHAK reigned, *Ilia* or *Ælia*."

بدزخخت کنگ امد از راه شام که خوانیش بیت المقدس بنام

در انگه که ضحاک شد پادشاه همی خواند لن خانهرا ایلیا

In this we recognise the Jerusalem (or Hierosolyma Capitolina) erected by *Hadrian Ælius* after he had destroyed the old city, and named, after that emperor, *Ælia*. We learn also from FERDAUSI that ZOHAK dwelt in the same place, when FERIDUN with his warriors, came from Persia to attack him. The poet describes their passage on horseback

chronological or geographical accuracy in such a romance as the *Garshasp Nameh*; and I have reason, besides, to suspect that the sense of a passage, highly important on the present occasion, has been, like others in my solitary copy, obscured by the erroneous collocation, and perhaps, by the omission of a couplet: faults, which create numerous perplexities even in the most beautiful Asiatick writings. Yet some circumstances of the story claim more particular notice, and shall hereafter be discussed, when, having collated my manuscript with another, (should such prove attainable), I may succeed in ascertaining the original text, and remove all difficulties.

Meanwhile it is unequivocally stated that, after the monarch at Jerusalem had provided ships and troops, one year and six months elapsed from the commencement of this expedition, until GARSHASP, the general, finally disembarked

through the river Tigris, and adds "each battle-seeking hero having reached the dry "ground, directed his course towards *Beit-al-makrds*, which, when people used the "*Pahlavian* (or *Pahlavi*) language, was called *Gang-diz-Hukht*, now known in Ara-"bick by a name signifying Holy House. Here ZOHAK had constructed a palace."

بخشکي رسيدند هر جنگ‌جوي — ببيت المقدس نهادند روي
چو بر پهلواني زبان راندند — همان کنگ دز هوخت خواندند
بتازي کنون خانه پاک دان — برآورده ايوان ضحاک در ان

Ilia, or *Ælia*, according to the MS. *Ajaieb al Gherayb* (in nom.) was the name of a prophet who founded that city, wherein David and Solomon erected magnificent buildings, ايليا نام پيغمبري بوده اين شهر از بناهي او ست And the *Gang-diz Hukht*, or "Holy House," was called *Ilia* in the Syrian tongue, if we may believe the *Farhang Jehangiri*, بزبان سرياني ايليا نامند But I find the very name *Jerusalem*, thus expressed or imitated in Persian letters شيروشليم (*Shirushalim*).—(See the MS. *Berhán Kattea*; sub voce.)

at the place of his destination(71), and with due acknowledgements of pious gratitude towards God, prepared to attack the sixteen thousand war elephants, and the two millions of soldiers which BAHU, the "Ceylon king," or *Serandib Shah*(72), had assembled within a distance of two days march.

But the heroick actions of GARSHASP, although wonderful, must not induce me to prolong this digression. I shall however remark, that the three years which Solomon's servants, going and returning, employed on their Ophirian voyage, is a space of time exactly agreeing with the "one year and six months," assigned for GARSHASP's expedition to Ceylon. And this will not seem a very immoderate allowance if we consider that in those early ages navigation

(71) This illustrious chief, says ASUDI, terminated his voyage without any injury or inconvenience. On approaching the shore, he returned thanks to God, who had thus favoured his undertaking.—

زکشتي چو برکشت و خامون بدید
نیایش کنان پیش یزدان دوید

and "having descended from the ship and beheld the level ground, he hastened on, "offering up prayers to YEZDAN, the Almighty.

(72) BAHU (بهو) is thus styled by ZOHAK when informing GARSHASP that he must set out immediately from Jerusalem for the protection of MAHRAJE; "Hasten," said the Persian monarch, "to India and avenge his wrongs on the *Serándib Shah* or king of "Ceylon. Seize BAHU, drag him thence in bonds to the court of MAHRAJE, and there "let him be hanged."

سوي کشور هند پرداز کن
سراندیب شه را بکین تاز کن

بیورا بیند و از انجا بیار
بدرگاه مهراج برکش بدار

was but imperfectly understood; that the small and fragile ships were all adapted to a considerable expanse of ocean; and generally conducted along the coast by means, not only of sails, but occasionally of oars; and that a circuitous progress so performed between the Elanitick gulf and Taprobane or Ceylon, must have required much time, even without the frequent necessity of stopping at various places to obtain fresh water and supplies of food, or the delays caused by accidental injuries and commercial negotiations(73).

(73) From the defects in my manuscript, I am unable to ascertain the course of GARSHASP between Jerusalem and Ceylon; this, however, may possibly be indicated by a more perfect copy of ASADI's work. It is as yet doubtful to me whether we should suppose that this hero of romance proceeded, like the servants of King Solomon, from Ezion-geber, or Elath, in or near the Elanitick gulf, or from some other place on the Red Sea; and having emerged at the straits of *Babelmandeb*, immediately traversed the ocean, (which is scarcely probable); or whether he coasted along Arabia, then crossed to the Indian shore, and having taken a south-eastern direction, reached at length the object of his destination. I have even been induced to suspect, from the ambiguity of one passage, that this expedition was partly performed by a march to India over land. Yet this cannot well be reconciled with the words of ZOHAK, who at Jerusalem, tells GARSHASP, that he had provided thousands of vessels for the conveyance of his army.

بفرمودهام تاز دریا کنار
بیارند کشتی هزاران هزار

and the first place where I find this general, after his departure from Jerusalem, is *Kelah* or *Killah*, (کله) described by the poet as a maritime city,

بدریاست این شهر پیوسته باز

and by the dictionaries *Jehangiri* and *Berhán Kattea*, as one situate in the middle of an island (درمیان جزیره) or among islands. So equivocal, however, is the word *Jezirah* that a Peninsula may be implied. Thus D'Herbelot (in *Hend*) thinks that Cape Comorin is what an Arabian geographer styles the island of Cameron: and that *Kalo*

I must now observe that another foreign hero, rivalling GARSHASP in romantick atchievements, though acknowledged by classical and genuine history, is said, but on authority that few will admit, to have visited Ceylon at an early period. Among those various manuscript records in

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or Kalé, "est peut-être," is *perhaps* Calecut. The ingenious Renaudot, (See "Anciennes Relations des Indes, p. 143), has not been able to satisfy himself respecting *Cala*, which his author, ABUZEID, represents as an island midway between China and the land of the Arabians, and comprehending "a circuit of eighty leagues." From this description, says Renaudot, it would appear to be an extent of country, under a capital of the same name, and situate near the extremity of Malabar. EBN AL VARDI places it first among the twenty thousand islands of the Indian ocean. "*Kaleh*," says this Arabian geographer, "is a considerable island, in which are trees, and rivers, and "cultivated fields, and the king of India resides there. And in it are mines of tin, "*(Ruais al Kalai)*, which is likewise called *Caudir*; and it produces the camphor "tree, which resembles the willow, but that it is greater, being capable of shading "more than an hundred persons; and there are plantations of canes; but a description of all that is wonderful in that island would be deemed scarcely credible:"

جزيرة كله وهي جزيرة عظيمة بها اشجار وانهار وثمار وزروع ويسكنها ملك الهند وبها معدن الرصاص القلعي وهو القصدير وبها شجرالكافور وهو يشبه شجر الصفصاف الا انه كثير تظل الشجرة مائة انسان واكثر وبها منابت القصبزران ومن عجايب هذه الجزيرة مايوقع ذاكروها في حد التكذيب—

This island appears to be the same with that which is called *Jezirah Kela*, (جزيرد كلا) in the Arabick text, of "Les Voyages de Sindbad," published by M. Langles, (p. ٦٣) D'Herbelôt's conjecture that it was *Calecut*, has been already mentioned. But I find this name written with the utmost literary accuracy (كاليكوت) Kalikut, in the Persian manuscript, entitled *Matliaa As'saadin* (مطلع السعدين) which shall be more particularly noticed hereafter; and Abraham Peritsol expresses it by equivalent letters thus, קאליקוט *(Kalikut)* in his Hebrew work, which Hyde has given with a Latin translation. (See the "Itinera Mundi." cap. xiii. and cap. xv). I shall not prolong this note by stating the reasons which would induce me to seek *Kaleh* on the South Eastern side of India, opposite and most near to Ceylon: somewhere about *Kola-medu*, or *Calymere*, or *Kolis*, or that promontory which is styled *Kory*, (Κόρυ) and *Kalligicum*, (Καλλιγικὸν) by Ptolemy. (Lib. VII).

which the Persians celebrate Alexander, (and which have furnished me with some materials for a future work), is a poem hitherto little known, composed at *Herát* in the fifteenth century, by ASHREF, who describes the Macedonian conqueror's voyage to *Serandib*, and his devotions at the sepulchre of Adam(74). Most oriental writers seem to have fancied that Alexander's personal marches and victories were co-extensive with his fame, and they place him accordingly in every region of the ancient world. But ASHREF here contents himself with supposing an expedition, not by any means improbable, from the Indian continent to a great island adjacent. In old local traditions, the monarch and one of his chief officers might easily have been confounded; and we know that the first accurate information respecting Ceylon, was communicated to the Greeks, by some of those who bore command in Alexander's fleet, such as Onesicritus and Nearchus, before whose time it had not

(74) The "Book of Alexander's Conquests," ظفر نامهٔ سکندری (*Zaffer Namah Sekanderi*) contains about four thousand five hundred couplets; and with four other works of ASHREF, or ASHRAF, (اشرف) forms this poet's quintuple collection, or *Khamseh*, (خمسه) which I procured at *Isfahan*, and shall describe more fully hereafter. It may be here remarked that the Persian name of Alexander is sometimes written سکندر and often اسکندر being pronounced (with the *a* short as in *cannon*), SEKANDER, ESKANDER, or ISKANDER. To the second Syllable, those who speak Persian with an Indian accent, generally give the sound of our short u in *Thunder*; and we find accordingly that many English authors of considerable merit, able orientalists, express the hero's name by SIKUNDER: but, as far as I could judge, this sound is unused among native *Iranians*, who reject it as difficult to the organs of speech, and uncouth to the ear. I have known Persians of *Isfahan* and *Shiraz* endeavour to imitate it without success, and ridicule it, perhaps because they had failed.

even been ascertained that Taprobane was an island(75). Whether we may ascribe this discovery to actual circumnavigation, does not appear from the classical writers: but an English traveller, of no mean literary accomplishments, thought it probable that some Macedonians had explored the bay of Bengal(76).

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(75) The ancient Greeks had previously regarded it as part of another world, peopled by the *Antichthones*; "Taprobanen alterum orbem terrarum esse, diu existimatum "est, Antichthonum appellatione. Ut liqueret insulam esse, Alexandri Magni ætas "resque præstitere. Onesicritus, classis ejus præfectus, elephantos ibi majores, belli-"cosioresque quam in India gigni scripsit, &c." Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. VI, cap. 22. (p. 60. ed. Paris. 1543, folio). See also Strab. Lib. XV. I shall here add the words of an author as yet little known; his Geographical tract having but lately issued from the press. "Taprobanam insulam, antequam temeritas humana exquisito penitus mari "fidem panderet, diu orbem alterum putaverunt: et quidem quam habitare Eachites "crederentur. Verum Alexandri Magni virtus, ignorantiam publici erroris non tulit "ulterius permanere; sed, in hæc usque secreta propagavit nominis sui gloriam. "Missus igitur Onesicretus præfectus classis Macedonicæ terram ipsam quanta esset, "quid gigneret, quo modo haberetur, exquisitam notitiæ nostræ dedit." See p. 34 of the work, entitled "Dicuili Liber de Mensura Orbis Terræ," which M. Walckenaer published at Paris in 1807, (8vo). from two manuscripts of the Imperial library. Another copy is preserved in the Cottonian. It appears from the learned editor's preface, that *Dicul* or *Dicuil* was an Irishman, although one writer mentions him as "Hibernus sive Scotus natione;" that he composed his book early in the ninth century, dating it A. D. 825; and that he was probably a monk.

(76) Having remarked that certain writers place the boundary of Alexander's Indian expedition at the Ganges, while others, like Arrian, fix it at the river Indus; our ingenious countryman, Sir Thomas Herbert, (who began his Eastern travels in the year 1626) offers a few observations, and then adds, "Albeit the direction Alexander gave his "admiral, seems to inferr, that some of the fleet adventured as far as the gulph of "*Bengala*; for he commanded him to fet a compass about, and to leave India upon "the right hand, which he could not do without doubling the promontory called *Cape* "*Comrhyn*, as we read in *Plut. vita Alex.* And by the relation which Onesecritus "gave, may be thought that he discovered *Taprobane*. So that if the fleet onely coasted "as far as *Chaul*, or *Goa*, or *Cochein*, or *Callicut*: in returning they must conse-"quently leave the Indian coast upon the right; but the directions he gave to com-

As those who first gave intelligence concerning Taprobane were naval officers, and particularly Onesicritus, to whose command was entrusted that vessel in which Alexander himself embarked(77); so ASHREF, the Persian poet above quoted, represents the monarch as listening to a description of *Serandib*, given by his *Nakhuda*, or captain of the Royal galley(78). "After a voyage," says he, "of "ninety days and nights, the *Nakhuda* informed his sovereign

"pass about has a greater latitude, and seemingly a contrary signification Besides, "when Nearchus sailed to the bottom of the Persian gulph, (leaving his fleet near "*Balsora*) he found Alexander disporting himself, a little before his death, upon the "Euphrates, and amongst other strange things which he then related, mention is made of "an island that had plenty of gold, which was probably *Taprobane*." (See "Some "Years Travels into divers parts of Africa and Asia the Great, &c." p. 207, third ed. "folio, Lond. 1665.) The passage of Plutarch, respecting the circumnavigation to "which Herbert alludes, must be this—Καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐκέλευσε περιπλεῖν, ἐν δεξιᾷ "τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἔχούσας &c.) and we may trace his authority for the abundant gold of this island to Q. Curtius. "Haud multo post Nearchus et Onesicritus quos *longius* "*in Oceanum procedere* jusserat, superveniunt. Nuntiabant autem quaedam audita, "alia comperta; insulam ostio amnis subjectam auro abundare; inopem equorum esse, "&c."—(Lib. X. cap. 1. p. 745. ed. Snakenb. 1724).

(77) This we learn from Arrian, (de Exped: Alex: lib VI. 2. p. 237. edit: Gronov: 1704)—"τῆς δὲ ναυτῶν νεὼς κυβερνήτης Ονησίκριτος,—and in his Hist: Ind: (p. 333) τῆς δὲ ναυτῶν Αλεξάνδρου νεὼς κυβερνήτης ην Ονησίκριτος Αστυπαλαιεύς.—Onesicritus of Astypalæa.

(78) Some, like Sanson, (Voyage en Perse; p. 108.) deriving this word, *Nakhoda*, from the negative *na* (نا) and (خدا) *Khoda*, or *Khuda*, (God), have supposed it applied to sailors in the sense of "Atheist," because a religious prejudice against the nautical life existed formerly in Persia; but this conjecture, however ingenious, is not supported by the authority of dictionaries. "*Nakhuda*," according to the *Jehangiri*, "signifies one who commands or governs a ship; and this originally was "*Nau-Khuda*; for a ship is called *nau*, and *khuda* is used as *khudavend*, to express "lord, master or possessor: being abbreviated, the word becomes *Nakhuda*."

"that he perceived indications of land, and hoped to "reach the shore within a week"(79). He then praises the genial climate of Ceylon, the groves and flowery meads, the trees with most delicious fruits, and the limpid streams of this island, which, adds he, "is in every "respect a perfect paradise, as the king of kings will "acknowledge on beholding it. I have seen this place "resembling the garden of Eden, and admired it as "such"(80).

Alexander Iands,—performs with due piety an act of devotion, and indulges himself and his companions with feasts and revels, wherein female beauty contributes its fascinating charms to enhance the delights of musick

ناخدا—خداوند کشتي را گويند و در اصل ناوخدا بود وناوکشتي را گويند و خدا خداوند باشد تخفيف نموده ناخدا گفتند

Khoda, (or ***Khuda***), in the sense of lord and ruler κατ'ἐξοχήν, is GOD; but when in composition with ***Kad*** or ***Ked***, (کد) also written ***Keddeh***, (کده) implies a householder, the chief person, or master of a house; also a man lately married, and so rendered the head of a family and domestick establishment.—(See the *Jehangiri*, *Berhán-Kattea*, and other manuscript dictionaries, in voce کدخدا)

(79) ز بعد نود روز و شب ناخدا — ز ساحل نشان داد پادشا
که امد علامات ساحل پدید — بساحل بیکهفته شاید رسید

(80) بهشتیست في الجمله یا تا سرش — شهنشه چو بیند کند باورش
من ان جنت اثاررا دیدمام — چو اثار جنت پسندیده ام

and of wine(81). He next explores the wonders of *Serandib*, and among others the consecrated mountain, as we learn from a chapter of which it will here be sufficient to translate the summary prefixed—"ESKANDER and the philo-"sopher BOLINAS devise means whereby they may ascend "the mountain of *Serandib*, fixing thereto chains with "rings, and nails or rivets made of iron and brass, the "remains of which exist even at this day; so that travel-"lers by the assistance of these chains, are enabled to "climb the mountain and obtain glory by finding the "sepulchre of Adam, on whom be the blessing of God"! (82).

From the chapter comprising an amplification of this summary, I shall only quote that passage wherein, having mentioned the chains and rivets, ASHREF adds "at every "spot (of difficult ascent) BELINAS constructed a series

(81) Thus Plutarch informs us that Alexander having landed on a certain island, (Σκιλλουντα or Υλαντα), offered sacrifices to the Gods, and proceeded to examine the coast. Arrian also records the acts of devotion performed by this hero on arriving at different islands. The revels, the cups, the wine, the musical instruments, the songs, the lovely female minstrels, and the general inebriation which ASHREF describes, remind us of Alexander's Bacchanalian march through Carmania, when days and nights were spent in feasting, not without musick and women; ωδης τε και ψαλμου και βακχειας γυναικων. Plut. (in Alex.) Arrian, (Lib. VI. cap. 10 and 28.) See also Diodor. Sic. (Lib. XVII). and Quint. Curt. (Lib. X. cap. 10).

(82) تدبير انديشيدن اسكندر با بلیناس حكيم در بر امدن كوه سراندیب و زنجیر بستن با حلقها و میخها آهنین و مس ساختن بركوه سراندیب و الي اليوم آثار آن موجود است كه مسافران بران سلسلة بركوه بر مي ايند و مزار متبرك ادم صفي عليه السلام در مي يابند و بدان معني مفاخرت مي نمايند

"of steps"(80). And two other lines in which the poet says "on that lofty mountain, above and below, the "vestiges of those works still remain"(81).

It cannot be doubted that this description relates to some monuments of antiquity visible about half-way up the steep side of a mountain called "*Moolgerigalle*," as the name was written for me by a gentleman whom I met at Mr. Gibson's house in Point de Galle, and by another who had visited the place. From their account it appears that there are recesses excavated in the rock, and a small tank or reservoir of water; the caverns are furnished with idols, and frequented by priests of the *Boudha* or *Budha* sect, probably as temples. From them an ascent of many steps, cut in the solid stone, is facilitated by links or chains of iron hanging on the left side, and above is a level space containing what seemed to be the square tomb of some venerable personage.

This description is given, with scarcely any alteration, in the words, committed to paper at the moment of communication; and on examining printed accounts, I find no reason to doubt its general accuracy. The reader has above seen how Eastern fable or tradition, attaches the name of Adam to this mountain; and, that being supposed

(80) بهر جاي بر ساخت يک زيربار

(81) بران کوه عالي ز بالا و پست هنوز ان نشاني و آثار هست

the place of his sepulture, it was regarded with veneration even by Alexander himself. From various writers and local reports, we know that it still continues an object of superstitious respect. Our first glimpse of "Adam's peak," viewed as we approached Point de Galle, has been already mentioned(86).

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(86) Of this extraordinary mountain, which derives its English name from the Portuguese, *Pico de Adam*, there are now before me three engraved representations given in different works. See the View, comprehending Point de Galle, in Lord Valentia's "Voyages, and Travels, &c." Vol. I. p. 266. (Quarto edition). Another view of *Adam's Berg*, is found in the fifth volume, (p. 390), of Valentyn's rare and excellent Dutch Memoirs, relative to the Old and New East Indies, &c. (Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien), and a third view of the "*Pic d'Adam*, occurs in the "Voyages de Corneille Le Brun," (p. 328. Amsterdam, 1718, folio). That the account which I received is sufficiently accurate, appears from many passages in the valuable work of Valentyn above quoted. One, respecting the chain, must be here extracted, "Up this peak or "Adam's mountain, people ascend by means of an iron chain, serving to assist pil- "grims and travellers desirous of reaching the summit. This chain is formed of "links, which, like the steps of a ladder, enable them to climb." "Op dezen "Pick of Berg van Adam, klimt men met een yzeren keten dienende voor de Pelgrims "en Reyzigers, die genegen zyn, om boven op de kruin des bergs te wezen. Deze "keten is met schakels gemaakt, by welke men, als of het trappen van een ladder "waren, opklimmen kan."—"Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien." Vol. V. Beschryvinge van Ceylon, p. 375). Knox, who in 1657 was seized by some people of Ceylon, and detained there a captive almost twenty years, thus confirms the report of superstitious worship. "On the south of Conde Uda is a hill, supposed to be the highest "on the island; called in the Chingulay language *Hamalell*, but by the Portuguese "and the European nations "Adam's Peak."—It is sharp like a sugar loaf, and on "the top a flat stone with the print of a foot like a man's on it, but far bigger, being "about two feet long. The people of this land count it meritorious to go and wor- "ship this impression; and generally about their new year, which is in March, they, "men, women, and children, go up this vast and high mountain to worship."—See "Knox's Historical Relation of Ceylon," (Part I. ch. 1). The impression of Adam's foot and the chains are also noticed by Mr. Percival; according to whom, this mountain is deemed sacred not only by the Ceylonese but by Indians of various sects, and "is yearly frequented," adds he, "by vast numbers of black Christians of the "Portugueze and Malabar race."—See his "Account of Ceylon," &c. p. 207, 208.

I shall no longer dwell on the subject of Ceylon, than whilst observing that BELINAS, to whom we have seen the contrivance of chains and steps attributed by ASHREF, is likewise associated with Alexander in NIZAMI's history of that conqueror, and in other romances(86); "BELINAS the sage," according to a Persian dictionary, "being the familiar friend and companion of ESKANDER(87). And he is particularly celebrated for the composition of magical talismans(88). His name appears also written FOLUNUS, and BELINUS, which

(86) The *Sekander Namah* (سکندر نامه) of NIZAMI. (نظامي) contains in two parts, (the *barri* بري, and *bahri* بحري) an account of the conqueror's exploits by land and sea. Of this poem, composed in the twelfth century, I made several years ago, from many ancient and valuable manuscript copies, an abridgment in prose, which shall form part of my future work on the History of Alexander.

(87) بلیناس—حکیمي است که انیس و جلیس اسکندر بود

See MS. *Farhâng, Berhan Kattea.*

(88) For the letter P which their alphabet wants, the Arabs substitute, in words borrowed from foreign languages, not only B but F. Of this several instances are given in the following pages. I shall here quote one passage from an anonymous Arabick manuscript, which belonged to the learned Selden, and treated, as he informs us, of the Talismans, placed in various celebrated cities. "Of all these Talismans," according to the manuscript, "FOLUNUS, the sage, was contriver." "Vetustum habeo autorem "anonymum Arabicè MS. in quo plurima occurrunt de Talismath in urbibus celebri- "oribus Orientis olim collocatis, *Atque omnium*, inquit ille, *horum Talismath*,

كان صانع الحكيم فلونس

"*auter aut artifex fuit Polonus sapiens.*" By which, adds Selden, I think Apollonius to be understood, "quo Apollonium intelligi puto." See "Selden de Diis Syris." Syntag. I. "de Teraphim," cap. 2. p. 117. Edit. Lips. 1662).

some ingenious orientalists have thought designed to express *Plinius*; thus an Arabick manuscript entitled the "*Book of* BELINAS," is supposed by D'Herbelôt to be the Natural History of Pliny(89). But one of the most learned scholars of our time has clearly proved, that by BELINUS and BELINAS, the Arabian authors mean Apollonius of Tyana(90).

I do not attempt to defend the gross anachronism, which would associate Alexander with either Pliny or Apollonius: since the Macedonian hero preceded both by nearly four hundred years. It is however certain that BELINUS and BELINAS are names generally given by the Asiaticks to that philosopher, whom one historian calls APULUNIS AL-TELESMATIKI, or "Apollonius, the maker of Talismans"(91); who endeavoured to counteract by his own, the miracles of Christ; and lamented that the Son of Mary had surpassed him(92). To his practice of the talismanick art,

(89) "*Ketab Belinas,*" (كتاب بلياس) See the "Bibliotheque Orientale," in *Belinas.*

(90) See M. de Sacy's account of an Arabick work, ascribed to the Philosopher BELINUS, (بلينوس الحكيم) in the fourth volume of "Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Nationale." p. 107.

(91) (افولونيس الطلسماطيقي) See the Arabick text of Gregory Abu'l Faraje's "Historia Dynastiarum," published with a Latin version by Pococke, (Oxf. 1663, p. 119).

(92) Abu'l Far. Hist. Dyn. ibid. ويقول الويل لي ان سبقني بن مريم

Philostratus bears ample testimony(93); and that he travelled into distant regions, we learn from the same biographer, who imputes the calumnious reputation which Apollonius incurred as a wizard, to his intercourse with the Magians of Babylon, the Brahmans of India, and the naked Sages of Egypt(94). I now return to the prosecution of our voyage.

(93) See the life of Apollonius Tyanensis, published with the other works of Philostratus, by Gottfr. Olearius, (Lips. 1709, folio. p. 112, 130, 147, &c) who has subjoined many useful notes in illustration of the Greek text.

(94) Οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ μάγου Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ Ἰνδῶν Βραχμᾶσι, καὶ τοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γυμνοις ξυνεγένετο μάγον ἡγοῦνται αυτον &c. Philostr. de Vita Apollonii. Lib. I. cap. ii. It is difficult to ascertain whether Apollonius was a philosopher or an impostor, as Gibbon justly observes, his life being "related in so fabulous a manner "by his fanatic disciples."—(Rom. Emp. chap. xi. note 63).

CHAPTER II.

From Ceylon to the Coast of Malabar—and Bombay.

ON the twenty-first of December, as I have already mentioned, we sailed from Point de Galle. During some days and nights the weather continued unpleasant; besides heavy rain, much lightning and tremendous thunder, there were foul winds, with a most violent "head sea," as sailors call those waves which run contrary to the vessel's course. Early on the twenty-seventh, we saw the coast of *Malabar* about *Anjenga*, and on the twenty-ninth we anchored within two miles of *Cochin*. Soon after, I accompanied some gentlemen from the ship to that town, where we found the air sultry, and the heat oppressive, Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the house of Mr. Stewart, Master Intendant, having risen to 87.

Cochin, until occupied by our countrymen, was the principal Dutch settlement in this part of India. Here we remarked several natives afflicted with that disease which produces what is sometimes emphatically styled "the Cochin leg," this limb being often so swoln as nearly to equal in bulk the patient's middle. Many legs, thus affected, seemed covered with whitish scales; others retained the natural colour of a dark Indian skin. This malady, it is said, causes but little pain; and has been ascribed to bad water, and a diet, of which too great a portion is fish. Those inhabitants who can afford the luxury of good water, procure it from a spot distant eighteen or twenty miles.

We visited the large old church, once, I believe, entitled the cathedral; it appeared in a state of decay, or at least to be much neglected; and, as we heard, had not been used, during a long time, for the purposes of publick devotion. Complaints, indeed, were made here, as at Point de Galle, by several English residents, concerning the paucity, or on some occasion, the absolute deficiency, of Protestant clergymen, and the consequent discontinuance for many weeks, successively, and even months, of religious worship, according to their rites; while the Catholick churches were preserved in the neatest order, and well frequented; the Portuguese ecclesiasticks performing all their ceremonies, both on Sundays and Saint's festivals, with the utmost regularity; and evincing much zeal in making prose-

lytes to their faith; a work wherein they were said to be eminently successful among the natives. At Cochin we had not an opportunity of examining the principal shops, which report described as well worthy of inspection; being kept by Jews, they were all shut on this day (Saturday) their sabbath.

We weighed anchor in the evening, about eight o'clock, and enjoying fine weather, continued our voyage, until the twelfth of January, at so inconsiderable a distance from land, that by night we frequently discerned the lights burning ashore; and by day, some scattered buildings, towns, and batteries, displaying the British flag. In the general prospect, however, there was but little variety. Just above the sea appeared a long horizontal line of sandy beach, extending as far as the powers of vision; over that line an uniform range of cocoa-tree groves; and beyond them the lofty *Gauts*, or *Ghâts*, forming what our celebrated geographer, Rennell, justly represents, as "a stupendous wall of mountains"(*). To persons who had so lately crossed the great Atlantick, the Southern, and the Indian ocean, often conscious that they were at an appalling distance from any coast, the almost uninterrupted sight of land and habitations proved extremely gratifying; and their proximity awakened pleasing ideas of human intercourse, and ready help in case of accidental distress. One

(*) "Memoir of a map of Hindoostan." Second edit. 1792. Introd. p. cxxvii.

immediate advantage resulting from it, we daily experienced; for the Indians brought us in their canoes very ample supplies of fish and poultry; cocoa-nuts, jacks, a sort of bread-fruit, plantains or bananas, pine-apples, and yams.

Among the places which offered themselves to our view as we sailed along, were *Calicut* once the chief seat of Eastern commerce and capital of *Malabar*(*), seen early

(*) Although this region is said to have borne various denominations in the original language of India, yet during some centuries the Persians have called it *Malibar*. I find that such, according to the manuscript dictionary *Berhan Kattea*, "is the name "of a country situate on the shore of the sea of *Omán*: and in that country all the "men are despicable wretches who tolerate the profligacy of their wives; for each "woman is married to ten husbands, or even more:"

ملیبار—نام ولیتي است بر کنار دریاي عمان و مردم ان ولایت همه دیوث اند چه زنان ایشان هریک ده شوهر و زیاده کنند

That Polyandry existed among the *Nayrs* of Malabar, has long been known; but its excess and general prevalence may be supposed in some degree exaggerated by the report above given. We learn from a memoir in the "Asiatick Researches," that to one Nayr woman, "two males, or four, or perhaps more," are usually attached. But a note informs us that this custom does not pervade the whole province of Malabar, being rather peculiar to the Southern parts. (See Mr. Duncan's "Historical Remarks on the Coast of Malabar." As. Res. Vol. V. p. 13. oct). Of this country and its chief city *Calicut*, an interesting account is given by ABD AR'REZAK, (عبد الرزاق) a Persian traveller of the fifteenth century; and may be seen in the "Collection Portative de Voyages," published by M. Langlès at Paris, (Tome I. p. xxxv, xliv, &c) translated into French from a rare manuscript, entitled the *Matlea As'saadein*, which I have already mentioned in the preceding chapter, (p. 53, note 73). As the plan of M. Langlès's very entertaining "Collection," did not admit, nor require, the Persian text, I shall notice in the appendix, some passages wherein my copy of the original work, a volume handsomely written, seems to differ from that used by him, and enables me to confirm his opinion respecting two or three names which, as he conjectured, the transcriber of his copy had rendered doubtful through omissions and alterations.

on the thirty-first of December; and, in the evening an extraordinary insulated rock named by English sailors, the "Sacrifice Island." To this we approached very near; it was covered with myriads of sea-birds, which produced the most various and discordant sounds; a few only seemed alarmed at the noise of two or three musket shots discharged amongst them; what effect the balls may have had, we did not ascertain(*).

The new year (1811) commenced while *Mount Dilla* or *Delli*, was yet within our view; on the second of January we were nearly becalmed, and the thermometer stood at 81. Above twenty of the crew were at this time afflicted by a disease which the surgeon attributed to unrestrained indulgence in fruit and fish, after a diet, whereof, during several weeks, the predominant part had been salted meat. On the third we saw *Mangalore*; and this day the body of one Herbert, an excellent seaman, who had died in consequence of a locked-jaw, was committed to the deep, with religious solemnities.

(*) This singular spot is thus mentioned by Dr. Fryer who visited India in 1673: "At *Mangelore* the *Dutch* have a fort, and six miles to the North the French have "a flag flying: within a league off which a grey rock extolls its hoary head eight "fathom above water, navigable on all sides, justly called by us *Sacrifice Island*: "in remembrance of a bloody butchery on some *English* by the pirate *Malabars*, "who are the worst *Pickeroons* on this coast, going in fleets, and are set out by the "great men ashore; the chief of whom lives at *Darmapatan*." (A New Account of East India and Persia, &c. p. 55. Lond. 1698.)

We sailed by *Barcelore* on the fourth: and saw the bold mountains of *Onore* on the fifth; when also, we passed near *Hog Island* and *Pigeon Island*, and remarked in the sea a multiplicity of beautiful snakes; next day we beheld a castle, and other considerable edifices of which some were said to be convents, near *Goa*. On the eighth we were off *Dewgur*, and saw the town and fort of *Gheriah*. On the tenth, *Severndroog* and *Dabul* were in sight. We passed *Choul* on the eleventh, and at midnight anchored near the light-house of *Bombay*.

Next morning we advanced into the harbour, and again anchored about noon. Several officers belonging to the military and civil establishments of Bombay visited Sir Gore Ouseley on board the Lion, and every preparation having been made for his reception ashore, he and the gentlemen of the embassy landed at five o'clock. The streets were lined by soldiers under arms, with bands of martial musick; the forty-seventh British regiment, and some *Sepoy* corps(*), Indian troops of very good appearance, neatly clothed and well disciplined. Between ranks of these, paying him all usual military honours, the ambassador proceeded to the government house, where he was received with most kind congratulations on his

(*) *Sipáhi*, (سپاهي) in Persian signifying "a soldier," or "an army."

arrival by Mr. Duncan, the governor, who had provided apartments not only for him and Lady Ouseley, but for every member of the embassy.

Meanwhile Mirza Abu'l Hassan was conducted to a handsome and well furnished mansion prepared for his accommodation in such a manner as might best suit oriental habits. And Mr. Goodwin, a gentleman who understood the Persian language, was appointed to reside with him, and, in the character of *Mehmándár*, to superintend all domestick arrangements that could contribute towards his comfort or convenience(*).

From the twelfth until the thirtieth day of January, we continued to enjoy the polite attention and unbounded hospitality of all the principal persons residing at Bombay, or in their beautiful country houses, a few miles distant. We viewed, during frequent excursions, whatever objects were reckoned most deserving of notice on this island, which is not much above seven miles long, and was ceded to the English in 1662, by the Portuguese, from whose language some derive its name, signifying the "good bay,"

(*) *Mehmán-dár*, (مهماندار) or "Entertainer of Guests," a title given in Persia to one appointed by the king, and the governors of provinces, or of cities, to attend and protect strangers, and furnish them with food, lodgings, horses, and other things necessary for their accommodation.

or "harbour," whilst others are of opinion that it is originally Indian(*).

We were amused one morning at a horse-race, wherein those riders who first contended for the prize of fleetness were English; but it concluded with an oriental exhibition, that, from novelty, afforded high gratification to many of our party besides myself; ten or twelve Arabs during repeated circuits at full speed round the course, evincing much boldness, activity and equestrian skill.

Musick and dances promoted sometimes the festivity of our evenings. A band of Indians, men who played on various instruments, and some female dancers called *Nátch* or *Notch*-girls, were introduced one night for our entertainment by Mr. Duncan, ever studious to please his guests. The full display of certain attitudes and movements, which probably had obtained for these women their high celebrity, was, on this occasion, restrained by the presence of many English ladies; and to most Europeans the performance would have seemed

(*) Lord Valentia understood that Bombay was so denominated after a goddess still worshipped there. ("Voyages and Travels," Vol. II. p. 181.) Major Moor allows the propriety of *Buena-bahia*, as a Portuguese designation applied to this "good harbour," but he traces the name *Mumbi*, or *Mumbai*, (for it is written ممبئي by the Mohammedans who use Arabick or Persian characters) to *Mamedevy*, corrupted from *Mahamaha deva*, which, he says, may be interpreted the "*Island of Mahadeva*," or the Great-great God, or SIVA, &c.—(Hindú Pantheon, p. 335).

tedious, the motions being generally slow; but they wanted grace, were often uncouth, and gave an appearance of distortion not unfrequently to the limbs. No attempt was made by any sudden exertion to raise the body above its natural elevation; it seemed, indeed, always supported on one foot, at least. Yet I understood that these dancers had not acquired without much laborious practice, the art of performing different gesticulations which they now exhibited; such as turning round several times on the right heel, whilst the lower garment was thrown forward by the left knee, in ample and undulating folds.

Of this scene, a representation is annexed, (See plate IV) engraved from the sketch taken by Major D'Arcy. One young woman, who had danced for half an hour, appears seated; the other, and a little girl, are beginning their performance. In the likeness of countenances and general expression, both of the dancers, and their male attendants the musicians, Major D'Arcy, who delineated them on the spot, has been, as usual, most successful. I had an opportunity soon after, of seeing the *Nâtch* executed with less reserve, yet not more gracefulness, at a house where all the spectators were men, and the greater number, Asiaticks. These particularly admired one movement of the dance, wherein every step by which the woman slowly approached or retreated, seemed to

cause a momentary dislocation of her hips; such probably, as constituted the Greek *Kordax*, (Κορδαξ) mentioned in Aristophanes's comedy, "The Clouds"; and sufficiently explained by his scholiast, in a passage to which I shall hereafter refer, when treating of the Persian dances. Then also, Pausanias shall be adduced to prove that the Greek *Kordax* was of Eastern origin, and most remote antiquity. The vocal accomplishments of those Nátch-girls afforded me, however, much gratification. Two Persian odes which they sang to pleasing tunes, were compositions in the Anacreontick manner, celebrating the delights of love and wine; the luxury of reposing near some cool and limpid stream, while listening to the nightingale's plaintive melody; and inhaling exquisite fragrance from the rose and jasmine. Their Indian songs I could only admire as successions of soft modulations. A person who understood the words, informed me that they expressed in very warm language the sentiments of amorous passion, but, contrary to the custom most general among other nations, were addressed by the damsel to her swain. Although in the writings of all Mohammedans, we meet frequent allusions to the scriptural history of Joseph and Potiphar's *Egyptian* wife; yet the *Persians* never suppose their females to make, either in prose or verse, any advances or declarations of love. My memory cannot recall one opposite example among the thousands of Persian

sonnets, which, during a course of many years, I have had the patience to peruse(*).

(*) The story of Joseph, borrowed, and in some respects altered from the Hebrew book of Genesis, (chap. xxxvii), is known to all Mohammedans through the medium of their *Korán*, (chap. xii). Neither in this, nor in the Bible, can we discover the name of Potiphar's wife. She is, however, generally entitled ZELIKHA, although another name has also been assigned to her, as the ancient and celebrated historian TABRI, who mispent some time in writing comments on the Koran, thus informs us,—"And the great man (Potiphar) had a wife, than whom in all the land of *Misr*, "or Egypt, there was not any woman more beautiful; and she was of illustrious "birth and very powerful, and her name was ZELIKHA, or, as some say, RAAIL.

و مر ورا زني بود که بمصر اندر نبود از او نیکوتر و مهترزاده بود و توانگر بود و جمال داشت و نام او زلیخا بود و گویند راعیل

The beauty of Joseph is proverbial; he may be considered as the Eastern Adonis. This I have already remarked in my first work, the "Persian Miscellanies," (chap. vii) where also is noticed JAMI's admirable poem on the Loves of "JOSEPH and ZELIKHA," which, says Sir William Jones, "is one of the finest compositions I ever read;" and "deserves to be translated into every European language." (See "Jones's Hist. of the Pers. Lang. annexed to his Life of Nadir Shah," octavo, Lond. 1773, p. 181, 183). HAFIZ, the Anacreon of Persia, frequently alludes to Joseph:—thus, in a sonnet, praising some beautiful youth, he exclaims, "Every one acknowledges "that thou art a second YUSUF; but when I view well thy charms, in truth, thou "seemest far superior to him."

گفتند خلایق که تویي یوسف ثاني
چون نیک بدیدم بتحقیق به از اني

And in another Sonnet (better known, having been before translated), he styles him, "my bright moon of Canaan,"

ماه کنعان من

These and many similar passages, which seem to be what they are not, the addresses of some fair Persian ZELIKHA, I would willingly ascribe to that *lisan al ghaib* (لسان الغایب) or "language of mystery," which, as certain scholiasts imagine, HAFIZ frequently employed, using amorous expressions in a recondite and even a religious sense! Yet those who are acquainted with the gross profligacy of his fellow countrymen, will scarcely allow to this poet so favourable an interpretation, but rather adopt that of the learned Reviczki in his "Specimen Poeseos Persicæ," (Vindob. 1771) and in his Epistolary Correspondence. See that excellent model for biographical composition, Lord Teignmouth's "Life of Sir William Jones." See also the "Poeseos Asiat. Comment. (cap. ix) of Jones himself, who inclines to the literal signification.

Those girls who have attained eminence as singers and daneers, and who probably are few, demand considerable remuneration for the entertainment they afford. But India is said to abound with females of this profession, although not equally accomplished; and the multitudes that, in former ages, were attached to temples, or filled the palaces of great men, almost exceed credibility. We read in authentick history, that two thousand administered to the pleasure, or the state, of one *Rajah*: who incurred, however, his sovereign's anger; so numerous an establishment of women having been supposed to encroach on the imperial privilege(*).

One evening I accompanied a friend to that remarkable rock, situate on the promontory called "Malabar Point;" and frequented by numerous *Hindú* pilgrims; since all who can here overcome the difficulties of passing through a very narrow and tortuous fissure, are esteemed as mortals regenerated and absolved from the contamination of former sin. Apprehending, however, that my faith was not yet sufficiently strong to ensure such a beneficial result, I

(*) This occurred in the year of our era, 1543, or of the Mohammedan, 950. The insulted emperor was BABER. See Dow's "History of Hindostán," Vol. II. p. 173. In the same work, (Vol. I. p. 70), we learn that five hundred dancing girls, many very beautiful, and some of noble descent, belonged to the temple of *Sumnat*, which was destroyed by Sultan MAHMUD in the year 1022, (or 413 of the *Hejrah*). D'Herbelót dates this transaction as later by three years. (See "Bibliot. Orient." in MAHMOUD).

declined the doubtful advantage and the certain trouble of this process; deferring it to a moment of more perfect inspiration.

We next visited a temple, where the attendant *Brahman* presented us with two cocoa-nuts and his valuable benediction, in return for an inconsiderable offering. Here I first perceived some idols and a tree daubed with red paint; the tree was itself an object of religious veneration.

In the course of another excursion I inspected, but too hastily, the "Brahmani village," where the people and their extraordinary habitations, their temples and idols, all excite interest, and claim admiration. An ingenious writer has well described this place as a specimen of "unsophisticated *Hinduism*(9)." Its inhabitants, I understood, were without exception, *Brahmans:* and here, confirming a report of the author above quoted(10), my companion observed, that many of the oldest had never been attracted from their native village, even to the neighbouring capital, either by business, pleasure or curiosity; but had hitherto consumed life in the idolatrous ceremonies of their religion, and in what they considered as philosophick medi-

(9) Moor's "Hindu Pantheon,"—p. 395.

(10) "Some of them, it is said, have lived here to an old age, without once visiting the contiguous town of Bombay."—"Hind. Panth." p. 395.

tation. How far this benefitted themselves or society, I shall not pretend to determine.

But the temples and idols of these places, and many more in their vicinity, appeared as nothing, when compared with the excavations and sculptured figures at *Keneri*, or *Kenereh*, in an island called *Salsette*, to visit which the ambassador and our party, besides some gentlemen of the Presidency, set out from Bombay at a very early hour on the nineteenth. To the pleasure of this excursion, Sir James Mackintosh contributed in a high degree by his lively and instructive conversation. We passed through *Viar*, and *Sion*, and a woody tract of country, where tigers were said to be more numerous than men. Yet there, amidst mountains, the natural face of a lofty rock is hewn into the front of a magnificent temple, formed by an interior excavation of the solid stone. An adequate idea of this extraordinary cavern, or of the immense pillars and gigantick images that decorate its entrance, can be conveyed only through such a delineation as the view given by Lord Valentia, from Mr. Salt's beautiful and accurate drawing(11). The great hall, its coved or arched roof, and various recesses, I shall not attempt to describe; for so many objects were visible in this wonderful place, and among the adjacent mountains; and so short was the time allowed

(11) Voyages and Travels, &c. Vol. II. p. 196. (quarto edition).

for inspection, that few of us made either sketches or measurements; but almost denied ourselves the minutes employed in eating an excellent breakfast, which we found prepared within the sacred excavation(12). I shall, however, again refer my reader to Lord Valentia's work, since between the *Carli* cave, of which this noble traveller has given a view, and the temple of *Keneri*, there exists a strong general resemblance(13).

We then examined several caves of smaller dimensions, cut likewise into the hard rock, and in some instances not very easy of access, though it is evident that steps had been once made to facilitate approach. The whole mountain seemed pierced with these excavations; and according to one report, (dated in the year 1760), "they are so numer-

(12) According to Anquetil du Perron this was "longue de dixneuf cannes, large de sept, et haute de huit." Or, in length seventy-six, in width twenty-eight, and in height thirty-two (French) feet; for it appears from his plan of the excavation (plate IV, fig. 6), that each *canne* was equivalent to four feet; (See "Zendavesta," Tome I. Discours preliminaire, p. ccccvi). In the Relation of a journey made by some English members of the Bombay council to Salsette, this excavation is described as eighty four feet long. (See "Zendavesta, Tome I. p. ccccviii). Dr. Fryer, who shall be hereafter quoted, supposed it to be longer.

(13) Voyages and Travels, Vol. II. p. 163. The resemblance is perhaps still stronger between it and the excavation of *Biskurma* near *Ellora*, described by Sir Charles W. Malet, in the Asiatick Researches, Vol. VI. with an engraved view, (p. 421, octavo edition, Lond. 1801).

"ous as not to be seen in three days(14)." Yet, how many or whoever might have been their former tenants, no person now enters them but a few temporary visitors. Anquetil du Perron has devoted several pages to an account of this singular spot. He has also given some lines of an inscription which we saw at the great temple; it was, in his time, and probably still continues, undeciphered(15). Here I remarked one idol, which seemed to have been, not very long before, streaked with red paint as a mark of superstitious respect.

We left *Keneri*, having but imperfectly gratified our curiosity; and my slight acquaintance with Indian history and mythology deters me from offering any conjecture or opinion respecting this mountain, or *city of caves*(16).

(14) See in the "Zendavesta," (Tome I. Discours Prelimin. p. ccccix), the Relation of a Journey made by some English members of the Bombay council to *Keneri*.

(15) Zendavesta, Tome I. Disc. Prelim. planche IV. p. ccccxciv.

(16) As Dr. Fryer's, "New Account of East India and Persia," (Lond. 1698, folio,) is now become a rare book, the reader may be pleased to see an extract from it here. "Next morn, before break of day, we directed our steps to the anciently famed, but "now ruined *City of Canerein*. The way to it is so delightsome, I thought I had "been in *England*,—fine arable, pasture and coppices: thus we passed five miles to "the foot of the hill, on which the city stands, and had passed half a mile through a "thick wood, peopled by apes, tygers, wild buffalos and jackalls: here were some "flocks of parockets," &c "We come to the city, all cut out of a rock, where is "presented *Vulcan's forge*, supported by two mighty collosses, bellied in the middle

On our return we halted to enjoy a collation provided for us under one of those vast and shady *Banian* trees, which are considered as almost sacred; and arrived at Bombay soon after five o'clock in the evening(17).

"with two globes. Next a temple with a beautiful frontispiece not unlike the "*Portico of St. Paul's West Gate*. Within the porch on each side stand two mon- "strous giants, where two less and one great gate give a noble entrance: it can "receive no light but at the doors and windows of the porch, whereby it looks more "solemnly. The roof is arched, seeming to be born up by huge pillars of the same "rock, some round, some square, thirty-four in number. The *Cornish* work of elephants, "horses, lions: at the upper end it rounds like a bow; near where stands a great offertory "some what oval, the body of it without pillars; they only making a narrow Piatzo "about, leaving the nave open: it may be an hundred feet in length, in height sixty "feet or more." Of the other caves he says, "To see all would require a month's time." "We feasted our eyes with innumerable entrances of these cony-burrows, but could "not see one quarter part," &c. (p. 71, 72).

(17) The *Banian* tree, described by Linnæus as *Ficus Indica*, or "Indian Fig tree," is not, says Milton,

——"that kind for fruit renowned,
"But such as at this day, to Indians known
"In Malabar or Decan spreads her arms
"Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
"The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
"About the mother-tree—a pillar'd shade,
"High over-arched and echoing walks between."—
Parad. Lost. Book IX. line 1101.

Dr. Fryer, who saw one of those admirable trees near Surat, in the year 1673, says "that besides its leafs, the branches bear its own roots, therefore called by the Portu- "gals, *Arbor de Rais*: for the adoration the Banyans pay it, the *Banyan tree*, (by "whom it is held as sacred as the oak to our old Druids); who paint it daily, and make "offerings of rice, and pray to it. It has leafs like an *Ivy*, and is the same with that "at *Johanna*, only that was incorporated into one body, and this, by often taking root, "is capable of overspreading a whole field; so that it is said, there are of them able "to shade an army of 30,000 horse and men singly. However it is possible to be so "contrived, if it be look'd after, to make a wood alone of itself."—A New Account of

But every thing seen in the great excavation at *Keneri*, though all traces of its date and origin have disappeared in the obscurity of ages, seemed to me less ancient than the sculptured deities, astonishing by their magnitude, their multiplicity and extraordinary forms, those who visit the stupendous cavern-temple of *Elephanta*. To this, early on the twenty-seventh, Sir Gore Ouseley with a numerous party of gentlemen, proceeded in Mr. Money's commodious

East India and Persia, p. 105, Lond. 1690). Of this remarkable tree a very interesting description is given by an anonymous writer, quoted in Maurice's "Indian Antiquities." (Vol. III. p. 163). "It is," says he, "perhaps the most beautiful and "surprising production of nature in the vegetable kingdom. Some of these trees are "of an amazing size, and as they are always increasing, they may in some measure be "said to be exempt from decay. Every branch proceeding from the trunk throws out "its own roots, first in small fibres, at the distance of several yards from the ground. "These continually becoming thicker when they approach the earth, take root, and "shoot out new branches, which in time bend downwards, take root in like manner, "and produce other branches, which continue in this state of progression as long as "they find soil to nourish them." The author proceeding in his account, notices particularly a *Banian* tree (growing near *Baroach*, in *Guzzurat*), under the shade of which seven thousand persons, it is said, may easily repose. Another celebrated tree of this kind is described by Sir Thomas Herbert, who saw it near Gombroon in 1627. (Travels, &c. p. 122, third edition, 1665); and by Mr. Ives, who was there in 1758, (see his "Voyage from England to India," &c. p. 199, Lond. quarto, 1773). He mentions also a *Banian* tree near *Trecandeporam*, under the shade of which, "ten "thousand men might stand without incommoding themselves." (ibid). Tavernier, in his "Voyages de Perse," (Liv. V). gives an engraving of the *Arbres des Baniaues*, near *Gemron*, or *Bander Abassi*; and in his "Voyages des Indes," (Liv. III), a view of one at Surat. Le Brun, also, notices many *Banian* trees, and particularly that near *Gamron*: but a remarkable *dragtoe* at the same place, is, according to his plate and description, very different, though venerated by the Banians. I suspect that he mistook for the name of a species, the Persian word *derakht*, (درخت) signifying "a tree," in general. (Voy. de Corn. Le Brun. p. 317. Amst. 1718).

and handsome yacht. The small island which contains this cavern, is seven or eight miles distant from Bombay, and owes its European name above mentioned, to a conspicuous figure near the landing-place, hewn out of stone once solid, but now much injured, representing an elephant of considerable size. The island, as some one observed, is properly denominated *Gharipuri*.

About half a mile from the elephant, we arrived at that hill of hard rock, which contains the celebrated excavation. Of this, so many accounts have been already published, that little remains for me to add from a very hasty inspection. But a drawing made at my request, by Major D'Arcy, (and reduced in plate V) will supply the place of verbal description. It shows the immense columns, the bust with three faces, and other sculptures, all parts of the solid stone; while portraits of some gentlemen, actually present, which Major D'Arcy has introduced, sufficiently indicate the relative proportions. That there never had been an opening behind the triple-visaged head, nor a fourth face, as some have imagined, I ascertained by climbing to the summit, and convincing myself that this entire mass belonged to the rock from which it projects in bold relief, but never was wholly separated.

On my left, when standing opposite to this bust, I soon perceived in a compartment which exhibits various groups, that form of gigantick size, by many supposed to represent

an Amazon, as it wants the right breast; a defect, perhaps not originally intended by the artist, but caused by that violence which has here defaced and mutilated several other sculptures. Believing it, however, so designed at first, a learned antiquary discovers in this four-handed giant, an androgynous Bacchus(18); while, according to an ingenious mythologist, it is a figure combining the God MAHADEVA, and the Goddess PARVATI(19); although a friend, well acquainted with the usual attributes and aspects of *Hindú* deities, immediately pronounced it to be DURGA, who appears, in some instances, the same as PARVATI herself(20). The plate (V) affords a glimpse of this

(18) M D' Hancarville having mentioned some ancient Greek statues of "Bacchus, "*Mitès* ou *des deux Sexes*," remarks that "il y a dans la Pagode de l'Isle Elephanta, "près de Bombay, une figure de ce genre." He then describes the gigantick form which I have above noticed: its four arms, the bull's head, on which one hand rests, and other circumstances, according to the engraving published by Niebuhr. He next alludes to the basin, which one hand seemingly grasps, and then adds, "c'est exacte- "ment la *Crotale* dont les Grecs se servoient comme les Indiens, dans les fêtes de "Bacchus: la figure que l'on trouve ici avec les attributs de ce Dieu, semblable à celle "du *Mitès* des Grecs, est composée des formes des deux sexes, et pour le faire sentir "on ne lui a donné qu'une seule mamelle, de sorte que la moitié de sa poitrine est "celle d'un homme, et l'autre moitié est celle d'une femme: ce qui l'a fait prendre "pour une Amazone par M. Niebuhr. (Recherches sur l'Origine, l'Esprit et les Progrès "des Arts de la Grece." (Tome I. p. 77).

(19) Major Moor notices the "grand compartment," containing, says he, "among a "variety of groups and single figures, a gigantic four-handed form of MAHADEVA, "conjoined with PARVATI. One of his right hands rests on the head of a bull, well "executed; another holds a shield, a third a *cobra de capela*, the hooded serpent." Hindú Pantheon. p. 97.

(20) This goddess, however, is almost indiscriminately styled PARVATI, BHAVANI, DURGA, KALI, and DEVI, as we learn from the "Hindú Pantheon," p. 146, 147, &c.

figure, seen in the obscure excavation: one hand resting on the head of a bull; but it did not, by any means, recall to my imagination, those forms with which the Greeks or Etruscans invested their Amazons on monuments still preserved: nor does it agree with the description of those warlike females left by Persian writers, and to be examined in a future work on the history of Alexander.

Having rapidly surveyed the numerous compartments and niches, presenting in every direction a variety of sculptures, I explored three or four small chapels communicating with the great temple; and in one, which receives light from above, at an aperture formed through the great body of rock, I found a simple offering, flowers and grains of rice, placed before a favourite and very general object of *Hindú* veneration. In another recess I also remarked an image which had recently been painted red by some pious votary. These idols were probably uninjured; for it is believed that the Divinity abandons any figure when defaced or mutilated(21),

(21) Dr. Buchanan, who visited many Indian provinces at the very commencement of this century, mentions that a *Polygar* chief, about two hundred and fifty years before, had been directed by the God *Ganesa*, to search for treasures under a certain image, and to erect temples and reservoirs, with whatever money he should find. "The treasures were accordingly found," adds Dr. Buchanan, "and applied "as directed: the image from under which the treasure had been taken was shewn "to me, and I was surprised at finding it lying at one of the gates quite neglected. "On asking the reason why the people allowed their benefactor to remain in such a "plight, he informed me that the finger of the image having been broken, the Divinity "had deserted it: for no mutilated image is considered as habitable by a God."

and to adore such would therefore have been an act of supererogation(*).

(Travels in Mysore, Canara and Malabar, &c. Vol. II. p. 60. Lond. 4to. 1807). "Brahmans, I have remarked, "says Major Moor," disregard imperfect images." (Hindu Pantheon, p. 336). Of many idols given to him by the *Brahmans*, "not one "subject is perfect: in some particular, sometimes trifling, there is a defect or fracture. (Ibid. p. 92).

(*) We may suppose that the Divinity does not condescend to reside in any idol, during its unfinished state. Knox, describing *Buddou*, whom the people of Ceylon highly venerate, informs us that "Some, being devoutly disposed, will make the image of this "God at their own charge: for the making whereof they must bountifully reward "the founder. Before the eyes are made it is not accounted a God, but a lump of "ordinary metal, and thrown about the shop with no more regard than any thing else. "But when the eyes are to be made, the artificer is to have a good gratification, "besides the first agreed upon reward. The eyes being formed, it is thence-forward "a God," &c. (Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon. Part III. chap. 4). I know not whether among the Hindus, it is believed, as in Ceylon, that the eyes of an image communicate or constitute Divinity, nor whether it can be legitimately worshipped by them, without some previous ceremony of consecration, as among the ancient Greeks: But many Indian idols have been found, in which the eyes were formed of materials more beautiful, or more precious, than any other part. Tavernier describes "la grande Idole," of *Jagrenate*, and another at *Banarous*, as having diamonds for eyes. He saw also one at *Mesura*. (Voyages des Indes, &c. Liv. III. chap. 11, et 12). See also Hamilton's "Account of the East Indies," Vol. I. p. 335. (Lond. 1744). Other writers, whom I shall not here stop to quote, mention the five golden Idols, with eyes of most valuable rubies, which *Sultan Mahmúd* took from one great Hindú Temple. Among the Indian Idols, in Major Moor's valuable collection, is a metal image of *Narayena*, with ruby eyes; and he possesses "other images "that have ruby eyes and ornaments."—(Hindú Pantheon, p. 31). In decorating the eyes of their images, some savage tribes appear to take considerable pains. In several extraordinary idols of wood and of stone, brought from the South Sea Islands, and now in my own collection, the eyes are inlaid with mother of pearl. Whether this, and the jewels above mentioned, were inserted merely to ornament some favourite Deities; or whether such attention was bestowed upon the eyes, particularly, with a more recondite meaning, I cannot undertake to decide. Of Grecian and Roman statues, in which silver or precious stones constituted the eyes, while every other part was bronze or marble; the classical antiquary will recollect many instances

I have already noticed a sacred tree and images daubed with red paint, near *Bombay* and at *Kenereh*. And it might easily be proved that to rub vermillion or some substance resembling it in colour, over objects of religious worship, was an ancient practice among various nations.

In another part of this work, a few remarks shall be offered on that superstitious or idolatrous respect, which has been paid, since the earliest ages, to certain *trees*. The use of *red*, also, as a colour appropriated to cruel sacrifices, whether of birds, of beasts, or of men, might be traced through many countries. But, on this subject, one conjecture must here suffice. As it was, and, I fear, is still usual, to sprinkle an altar, or idol, with the victim's blood; perhaps we are authorized in supposing the red paint a representative of that sanguinary oblation, for which it serves, at the same time, as a cheap and innocent substitute(23). However this may be, (and I cannot adduce

besides those mentioned by *Buonarotti*, (Osservazioni Istoriche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi. Pr. xii. Roma. 1698, 4to) by *Dr. Conyers Middleton*, (Miscellaneous Works, Vol, IV. p. 113, 4to. 1752) and by *Winkelmann*, in his celebrated composition, of which I must quote the French translation; "Histoire de l'Art de l'Antiquité. (Tome II. p. 200. Leipsig, 4to. 1781). Caylus describes some Egyptian bronze images with eyes of gold and silver. (Receuil d'Antiquités, Tome I. p. 30, 31, 37).

(23) The ancient altars were not always *αναίμακτοι* or *without blood*. The Grecian and Roman sacrifices of animals are so well known, that any comment on them here would be superfluous. It is equally unnecessary to remark, among the children of Israel, the blood of beasts sprinkled "*upon the altar of the* LORD." See "Leviticus, Chap. xvii. 6. Numbers, Chap. xviii. 17. Deuteronomy, Ch. xii. 17. II Chronicles, Chap. xxix.

proofs in support of my conjecture), the red colour seems to be esteemed sacred, in many instances, by those who inhabit a great portion of Asia; from China to Caucasus; from Tibet and Boutan to the extremity of India, and to Ceylon(*). That it was considered equally sacred by

22. 24. Ezekiel. Chap. xliii. 18. and other parts of the Hebrew scriptures). Neither need I mention that the Scythians often sacrificed men to their Deity, an iron sword, on which they threw the victim's blood; and with blood also they profusely sprinkled or completely varnished the trunks of their sacred trees. Those Indians who reside among the hills near *Rajamahall* must contrive, in their religious sacrifices, that the blood should fall, or be sprinkled on the shrine *chumdah*, the consecrated *mucknun* branch, and bamboos, &c. (See the "Asiatick Researches." oct. ed. Vol. IV. p. 52, 55). A sanguinary *Hindú* Goddess, is pleased during one hundred thousand years with the sacrifice of three men; and delights in blood, as in *Ambrosia*. ("Asiat. Res." Vol. V. p. 373, oct). Some Indian tribes worship a rude stone by an offering of blood, as we learn from Dr. Buchanan. (Travels in Mysore, &c. Vol. III. p. 253). The Chaman Tatars stain their idols with blood; and even in the new world we find a similar custom, among the Axtecks. (See Humboldt's "Researches in America." Eng. ed. Vol. I. p. 219.

(*) Without further inquiry by which references might be considerably multiplied, I shall here briefly notice a few modern authorities immediately present. The *red* columns of Chinese temples appear in Sir George Staunton's "Embassy." (Quarto, Vol. I. p. 373—Vol. II. p. 86). Klaproth, (see his "Travels in Caucasus," &c. Eng. ed. p. 100), found that the altars and other parts of the *Lama* or *Mongal* temples were invariably painted on a ground of *cinnaber red*. Turner, in 1783, remarked *red* or *deep garnet*, to be the favourite and distinguishing colour of the temples and other religious places in Boutan and Tibet. (See his "Embassy," &c. p. 159. 294). The Indian Deity BRAHMA, is often represented *red*, and this colour is supposed peculiar to the creative power; denoting also fire, and its type, the sun. (Moor's "Hindú Pantheon," p. 4). Many writers in the "Asiatick Researches," (I quote the octavo edition) serve to illustrate my observation. Thus the mountaineers near *Rajamahall*, (See Vol. IV. p. 48, 49, 51). mark with *red* paint the sacred branch, the hen's egg, and the basket of rice, used in their religious ceremonies; on which occasions, they also employ strings of *red* silk, (p. 52). An Indian image,

the Greeks, Romans, and others of the ancient world might be proved from numerous passages, besides those below indicated(25).

(Vol V. p. 396), must be decked with garlands of *red* flowers, "dressed in *red* garments "and tied with *red* cords, and girt with a *red* girdle." We find in a building sacred to BHYNOR, (Vol. VII. p. 104) the enormous idol made of blue granite, "rubbed "over with *red* paint." A sacred stone, representing the Divinity at *Chinchoor*, (p. 395), is coloured *red*; and an image worshipped in the Temple at *Deopraydg*, is of black stone, the lower part being painted *red*, (Vol. XI. p. 490). Of BUDDOU, the great Ceylonese Deity, as we learn from Mr. Percival, who visited his temple in 1800, the "placid countenance was daubed all over with *red* paint." (Account of Ceylon, p. 302). I have here restricted myself to the most recent authorities; but might extend this note, and further illustrate its subject, by many references to the earlier travellers: such as Tavernier, who (about 1645) remarked that *espece de vermillion*, with which, says he, the Brahmins *barbouillent* a monstrous idol near Surat. (Voyages des Indes, Liv. III).

(25) That the custom of besmearing idols with red paint, was once almost general, we may infer from the testimonies of several authors. I know not whether such a process was necessary to the consecration of an image; but the carver mentioned in that work, entitled "The Wisdom of Solomon," (and classed by Biblical critics among Apocryphal scriptures, though acknowledged to be very ancient), did not address as a God, the figure which he had made, until it was *laid over with vermillion and with paint coloured red*, καταχεφας μιλτω και φυκει τον παν χρωμα αυτου. (Chap. xiii, verse 14). The artist who, as we read in preceding passages (verses 11, 12, 13), had applied all the best wood to other purposes, such as the formation of cups or bowls; took, in a moment of idleness, one crooked piece, "*which served to no use*"; and "*fashioned it to the image of a man.*" Here will occur to every classical reader's recollection, the "truncus ficulnus" of Horace, (Satyr. lib. 1. Sat. viii. lin. 1) which lay an useless block of wood, "inutile lignum," but afterwards yielded materials sufficiently good to constitute the Roman Garden-God, who, as we find (lin. 5), was also painted *red*: at least partially. Thus of images, at Corinth, representing Bacchus, the faces were coloured with red paint, as we learn from Pausanias,"—Και Διονυσου ξοανα—τα δε προσωπα αλειφη ερυθρα καταπεπαται. (Corinth. p. 115. ed. Kuhn. 1696. And one of the same Divinity in Achaia, was so painted—Του Διονυσου δε υπο Κινναβαρεως το αγαλμα τουτων ενηρυθριμενον. (Achaic p. 503). Also of another which he describes in Arcadia, all the parts visible were reddened with *cinnabar*;

My time was so fully occupied at *Elephanta* in viewing the sculptures, that I neglected to ascertain, even by paces, the length and breadth of its venerable excavation. But Ovington probably under-rates the dimensions, when he states them to be an hundred and twenty feet square, and in height about eighteen(26); for Goldingham, who has given a ground plan of the cave, says that "its length is one hundred and thirty-five feet, and breadth nearly the same"(27). Its dark recesses, according to report, are frequently haunted by wild beasts, snakes and scorpions.

ουτος δε αυτου καθαρον τοτε τοτε τον προσωπον κατακαρυκευται κατταβαρι τελαμωνιν. (Arcad. p. 681.) The face even of Jupiter's image was, on festivals, coloured with *minium*, or red-lead, according to Verrius, quoted by Pliny, who observes that it was a kind of paint once reckoned sacred among the Romans, applied to the bodies of those who triumphed, and used by the Æthiopians in colouring their idols. "*Minium*-nunc inter pigmenta "magnæ authoritatis, et quondam apud Romanos non solum maximæ sed etiam sacræ. "Enumerat autores Verrius, quibus credere sit necesse, Iovis ipsius simulacri "faciem diebus festis minio illini solitam, triumphantumque corpora: sic Camillum "triumphasse. Hinc religione etiam nunc addi in unguenta cœnæ triumphalis, et a "censoribus in primis Iovem miniandum locari. Cujus rei equidem causam miror "quamquam et hodie id expeti constat Æthiopum populis, totosque eo tingi pro- "ceres, hunc que ibi Deorum simulacris colorem esse." (Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. xxxiii. c. 7). Those who triumphed, says Servius, (ad Virg. Ecl. VI. l. 22), painted their faces with *minium*, because red was supposed to be the colour of Gods: "quod "rubeus color Deorum sit, unde et triumphantes facie miniata," &c. He also informs us that Pan was thus painted red. "Minio autem ideo, quia facie rubra "pingitur Pan, propter Ætheris similitudinem: Æther autem est Jupiter, &c. "Faciem quoque (triumphantes) de rubrica illinunt instar coloris ætherei." (Serv. ad Virg. Ecl. x. l. 27).

(26) See his "Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689," &c. Lond. 1696, p. 159.

(27) "Some Account of the Cave in the Island of Elephanta." (Asiat. Res. Vol. IV. p. 411. Lond. Oct. 1801).

I did not hear that any person of our company saw such creatures at this place; but an English traveller of the last century was interrupted in his researches by a serpent of terrifick size, which he disturbed on entering the subterraneous temple(28).

Notwithstanding the disproportionate lowness of its roof, the injuries which many parts have received, and the almost total destruction of others; there is in the ample expanse of this cavern; in the bulky columns yet remaining; in the immense ridges, like beams, which those columns seemingly support, though all are cut from the solid stone; and in the colossal forms appearing, on every side, to stare at the intruding visitor; something that excites ideas of vastness, durability, magnificence and gloom; filling the mind with such a sort of awe, as may, almost, be styled religious(29).

The roof or ceiling is not coved as in the *Kenereh* temple, but perfectly flat. The chief entrance and the other

(28) See Hamilton's "Account of the East Indies." Vol. I. p. 238. (Lond. 1744, oct). He describes the serpent as fifteen feet long and two feet thick.

(29) Ovington conveys an idea by no means inaccurate, of the sculptures visible at Elephanta, when he mentions "Figures of forty or fifty men, each of them twelve or "fifteen foot high, in just and exact symmetry, according to the dimensions of their "various statures. Of these gigantick figures, some had six arms, and others three "heads, and others of such vast monstrosity that their very fingers were larger than "an ordinary man's leg." ("Voyage to Suratt." p. 160).

passages are square: nor do I recollect one with a rounded or pointed arch throughout the whole excavation of *Elephanta*. Some eminent writers of the seventeenth century, and others still later, had already suggested the opinion, that a conformity subsisted between the ancient religions of India, and of Egypt, when, (above forty years ago,) M. Savary noticed, on the credible authority of one who had long resided in Bengal, a strong resemblance, or rather identity, between many Egyptian Deities, and the *Hindù* Gods, VISHNU, GANESA, and those worshipped at *Jagrenát*(30). Six or seven years after the publication of Savary's work, our illustrious Jones discovered *Orus*, *Vulcan*, *Isis*, *Osiris*, and his sacred bull, *Apis*, among the popular objects of *Hindú* veneration(31). But of

(30) Describing some magnificent ruins and sculptures in Egypt, M. Savary says "Au milieu de ces desseins gravés sur le marbre, le voyageur reconnoit les "divinités de l'Inde. Monsieur Chevalier, ancien gouverneur de Chandernagor, "qui a passé trente années dans ce pays, où il a rendu de grands services à "sa patrie, visita soigneusement cet antique monument à son retour du Bengale. Il "y remarqua les Dieux *Jaggernat*, *Gonez* et *Vichnou*, tels qu'ils sont representés "dans les Temples de l'Indoustan." (Lettres sur l'Egypte, Tome II. p. 76. Amst. 1787). The monument to which Savary alludes, was not, most probably, any remnant of *Abydus*, but rather of *Dendera*, (the ancient *Tentyra*), as Mr. Hamilton has remarked (Ægyptiaca, p. 261). Concerning the Indian Divinities, however, M. Chevalier's testimony continues unimpeached.

(31) See Sir William Jones, "On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India." Asiat Research. Vol I. p 252, 253, 263, (Oct. Lond. 1801). "CARTACEYA,—seems clearly to be the "OKUS of Egypt." "For my part I have no doubt that the ISWARA and ISI of the "*Hindús* are the Osiris and Isis of the Egyptians; though a distinct essay in the "manner of Plutarch, would be requisite, in order to demonstrate their identity." "The Bull of ISWARA seems to be *Apis* or *Ap*, as he is more correctly named in the

this identity, or at least very striking resemblance, we find a confirmation more satisfactory than could possibly be derived from literary arguments, in that religious homage, with which some *Brahmans* and *Hindû* soldiers recognised the Divinities of their own country, among the sculptured figures of an Egyptian temple(77).

"true reading of a passage in *Jeremiah*." "The God AGNI, often called PAVACA "or the "Purifier," who answers to the Vulcan of Egypt, where he was a Deity of "high rank," &c. Alluding to Mr. Schmit's Essay "on an *Egyptian* Colony estab- "lished in *India*," Sir William adds (p. 271) "I strongly incline to think him right, and "to believe that Egyptian priests have actually come from the Nile to the *Ganga*, "(*Ganges*), and *Yamuna*, (*Jumna*), which the *Brahmans* most assuredly would never "have left. They might, indeed, have come either to be instructed or to instruct. "But it seems more probable that they visited the *Sarmans* of India, as the Sages of "Greece visited them, rather to acquire than to impart knowledge: nor is it likely "that the self-sufficient *Brahmans* would have received them as their preceptors." That Sir William Jones regarded the first *Egyptians* and original *Hindûs* as the same people, he declares in his "Discourse on the Borderers, Mountaineers and "Islanders of Asia," (Asiat. Res. Vol. III. p. 4), and those who would wish to trace this subject minutely, will regret that no translation has yet been published of a work, respecting which, his opinion excites such interest and curiosity. "I may assure you" says he, (ibi p. 14), "that the learned works of Selden and Jablonski, "on the Gods of Syria and Egypt, would receive more illustration from the little "*Sanscrit* book entitled *Chandi*, than from all the fragments of oriental mythology "that are dispersed in the whole compass of Grecian, Roman and Hebrew literature."

(77) This occurred in the year 1801, when several *Sepoy* regiments, under the command of General Baird, were brought from India up the Red Sea. Dr. Clarke, in his Travels, (Vol. III. p. 58) mentions that those *Brahmans*, on viewing the temple of *Dendera*, expressed violent indignation at its neglected state, regarding this ancient edifice as sacred to their own God, VISHNU, whose sculptured figure they discovered there. Mrs. Graham, also, informs us, that those Sepoys "fell down "before the Gods in the temple of Tentyra, and claimed them as of their own "belief." (Journal of a Residence in India, p. 53. Second Edition).

It is not therefore surprising that between the edifices consecrated to similar Deities in Egypt, and in India, a conformity should appear(30). Of one, the ancient monuments were known to me only through accounts and delineations given by various travellers. *Kenereh*, in the other, by its general effect, reminded me of those European structures which we style Gothick. But in *Elephanta*, the forms of Egyptian temples, their massive columns, flat roofs, and gigantick idols, intruded themselves on my imagination, spontaneously and forcibly almost at every step, according to ideas which I had formed from the works of Pococke, Norden, Denon, and Hamilton(31).

(30) "But not merely in many of the rites practised, and the images venerated "among the Indians, have the strongest features of resemblance between that "nation and the Egyptians been discovered: it seems apparent in the very "structure of their most ancient and most hallowed Pagodas." See "Indian "Antiquities," (Vol. III. p. 65, Lond. 1800) by the Rev. Mr. Maurice, whose well-known and excellent works require not the feeble recommendation of my praise. We find an ingenious traveller, who in 1813 visited Egypt, struck with the resemblance between *Elephanta*, (known to him only from the descriptions given by others;) and a stupendous temple with its various apartments and gigantick statues, "all hewn out "of the living rock," which he himself examined at *Guerfeh Hussein*, about sixty miles beyond the Cataracts of *Essouan* or *Syene*. See the "Narrative of a Journey in Egypt" &c. by Thomas Legh, Esq. M. P. p. 85. 4to. Lond. 1816.

(31) Pococke's "Description of the East and some other Countries." 2 Vols folio. 1743. Norden's "Travels in Egypt and Nubia." 2 Vols. folio 1757. Denon's "Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte." 2 Tomes. grand in-folio. And "Remarks "on several parts of Turkey." Part I. Ægyptiaca." Lond. 1809, 4to; by the learned William Hamilton, Esq. F. A. S. who has illustrated his own observations with a separate volume of etchings, from very spirited original drawings taken on the spot by his late accomplished friend, Major Hayes.

If any confidence might be placed in local feelings, which it is impossible to describe, (and which, after all, are perhaps fallacious) I should, without hesitation, declare my opinion, that the cavern of Elephanta had existed long before that of *Kenereh*. But concerning the relative antiquity of either, when compared with Egyptian monuments I shall not presume to offer even a conjecture. It is, however, easily perceived, that many ingenious writers have, latterly, inclined to regard the Egyptian architecture as originally derived from the Indian(33).

On the subject of those who devised and executed such stupendous works at *Elephanta* and at *Kenereh*, many traditions are current, equally absurd as improbable; and the contradictory sentiments of antiquaries only

(33) Such was the opinion of *Riem*, a learned antiquary, whose German work, (*Ueber die Malerei der Alten*, &c. Berlin, 1787) is highly commended by *Martinus*, in his additions to the *Archæologia Literaria* of Ernesti, (second ed. Lips. 1790, p. 248). "Quam "autem Ægyptii, (says *Martin*, who himself appears to favour the arguments of "Riem), non nisi Indorum coloni, adeoque his recentiores fuerint; credibile, quin "longe verissimum est, Ægyptios ex Indis, non Indos ex Ægyptiis, ædificandi leges "didicisse; et prima ædificiorum exemplaria ab Indi ora, ad Nili littora delata esse. "Architecturæ igitur origines Indis potius, quam Egyptiis debentur. Talis fere est "RIEMII celeberrimi argumentatio," &c. (p. 320). That the Egyptians borrowed their civilization, and many religious rites from the Indians, was a very ancient opinion, as OUVAROFF has demonstrated in his excellent "Essai sur les Mysteres "d'Eleusis." (Sect. 11. p. 24, 26, &c. (3rd ed. Paris, 1816). See also some Essays by the Abbé MIGNOT, (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Tome XXXI), and by several writers in different volumes of the "Asiatick Researches."

serve to prove, that nothing certain has hitherto been discovered(*).

(*) The excavation at Elephanta, with the sculptured figure of a horse near the landing-place on that island, and the caves of *Kenneri*, and other remains near it, have been ascribed by local tradition to Alexander. (See Dalrymple, in the Archæologia, Vol. VII. p. 324. Fryer's Travels, p. 72. Anquetil du Perron's Zendavesta. (Tome I. p. ccccxcii). and Goldingham's "Account, &c. in the Asiat. Res. Vol. IV. p. 413. Lond. oct. 1801). According to *Baleje Punt*, governor of Salsette in 1760, the *Nenneri* caves were made by "some of the petty Deities *five hundred thousand* years ago." (See the Relation, &c. given in Anquetil's Zendavesta, Tome I. p. ccccix) and "a very old book written by a Jesuit, and printed in Portugal," describes them as "the work of a Gentou (*Hindú*) king some thousand years ago, to secure his only son "from the attempts of another nation to gain him over to their religion." (ib. p. ccccx). Those excavations I am willing to regard as monuments of very high antiquity. The temple at *Elephanta* was probably frequented by pious votaries, long before the time of ALEXANDER; to whom, as we have above seen, many Indian works are strangely attributed. I mean, of course, that hero emphatically styled, the Great; and by Persians called, in imitation of his Greek name, SECANDER. But the *Hindú* traditions may allude to a much more ancient personage, celebrated in a *Sanscrit Purana*, under the name of *Scanda*; which, says Sir William Jones, speaking of Eastern mythology, "has a connexion, I am persuaded, with the old *Secander* of *Persia*, whom the poets ridiculously confound with the Macedonian." (Jones "On "the Gods of Greece," &c. Asiat. Res. Vol. I. p. 252. Oct. 1801). Monsieur D'Hancarville would trace the sculptures of *Elephanta* to a period, not very remote from that in which Ninus and Semiramis governed Assyria; about *two thousand one hundred and ten years* before the commencement of our era. (Recherches sur l'origine, &c. des arts de la Grece." Tome I. p. 123). "Ces observations nous font croire que les monu- "mens d' Elephanta remontent a des tems voisins de ceux ou Ninus et Semiramis "regnerent en Assyrie, environ 2110 ans avant notre ere." Notwithstanding the seeming preciseness of this date, many doubts exist respecting the age when Semiramis, and consequently her husband (or father) Ninus, flourished. Mr Bryant, having examined various calculations and opinions on the subject, asks "What credit can be "given to the history of a person, the time of whose life cannot be ascertained within "*one thousand five hundred and thirty-five years?* For so great is the difference of the "extremes in the numbers before given." (Analysis of Ancient Mythology. Vol. II. p. 332. Oct. Lond. 1807). With similar discrepancies and perplexities every antiquary who extends his researches beyond the era of Alexander, must contend; and many different systems of chronology might now be added to the *hundred and seventeen*,

We returned before night to Bombay; and began, the next morning such preparations as were necessary for the continuation of our voyage towards Persia; the ambassador having announced his intention of sailing on the thirtieth.

A stranger arriving at Bombay will naturally be surprised and amused by the various complexions, features, dresses and languages, that distinguish its numerous inhabitants: for besides the natives and Indians from several parts of the neighbouring continent; many English, and other Europeans reside here; and the streets frequently abound with Arabs, Persians, Armenians and Chinese, all retaining their own peculiar modes of habiliment; yet, under the impartial and tolerant influence of British laws, this motley population subsists in a state of amity and concord rarely interrupted by the difference of country, of manners, or even of religion. Here the *Muselmán*, so generally prone to insolence and tyranny, must conceal within his bosom that contempt which he certainly feels, and, in most other places, publickly avows, for *infidels*, meaning thereby all who do not exactly agree with him in faith.

noticed by De Pauw in the last century; "Les Chronologistes, quand ils n'ont pu y "reussir par une formule de calculs, ils en ont imaginé une autre: de sorte qu'on "compte aujourd'hui *cent dix-sept* differents systémes de Chronologie; d'ou il resulte "precisément, comme l'on voit, que nous n'avons plus aucune Chronologie." Rech. Philosoph. sur les Egypt. et les Chinois. Tome I. p. 18. Berlin, 1773).

I happened one day to pass by the tomb of some Mohammedan saint, where a venerable *Sheikh* sat reading with much solemnity in a book, probably the Korán; while near him reposed a *Brahman*, seemingly absorbed in pious meditation. Within thirty or forty yards was a *tank* of water where several *Hindús* performed their ablutions; and adjoining it, a temple, before the idol of which, others were engaged in devotion. On one side was a dwelling-house of some Portuguese family, (or perhaps a little chapel) exhibiting conspicuously on the outside, figures of the Virgin Mary and child; and two or three hundred yards from this, was one of the *Parsí* fire-temples; a small modern edifice of very simple appearance.

Concerning the *Parsís* established in India, and especially those resident at Bombay, where they constitute a numerous and highly respectable class of the population; all that I could learn from my own inquiries or observation, has been already imparted to the world by various travellers(*). It is necessary, however, that I should more particularly notice the journal of a lady, whose visit to India preceded mine

(*) Henry Lord, in his "Religion of the Persees;" Sir Thomas Herbert; Mandelslo; Dr. Fryer; Hamilton, (in his Account of the East Indies); Anquetil du Perron, in the first volume of his "Zendavesta;" Moor, (in the notes to his "Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment." Lord Valentia; and others.

by one year(36); and whose authentick information, which she has communicated in so pleasing a manner, was principally derived from the same source that furnished mine; the intelligent and modest, FIRUZ, chief *Destúr* or priest of the *Parsís*, and generally styled *Mula*(38); not without some inconsistency; for the Arabick title, literary or magisterial, thus prefixed to his proper Persian name, is borrowed from the professors of a religion, the most opposite and hostile to his own(37).

FIRUZ had passed several years in Persia: and declared that it would be impossible to find there any person capable of deciphering the Persepolitan inscriptions. I expressed my desire to see the *Barzú Namah*, which Anquetil du Perron describes as a Persian poem of more than sixty thousand distichs; affirming that an imperfect copy, brought by him to France, was *unique en Europe*(39). The obliging *Parsi* gratified my curiosity

(36) See Mrs. Graham's "Journal of a Residence in India." (Sec. edit. p. 38, 39, 41).

(38) MOLA, or MULA FIRUZ, مولا فيروز

(37) Yet by some booksellers whom I knew at *Isfahan*, my friend, Captain Abraham Lockett, was entitled MULA IBRAHIM, (مولا ابراهيم) from his keen researches after Arabick manuscripts, and the knowledge which he evinced in reading them.

(39) "*Barzou-namah*, Poeme Persan de plus de soixante mille Beits, composé "par Atai Poete celebre, mais inferieur à Ferdousi, et moins ancien que lui: qui contient "l'Histoire de Roustoum, de Sohrab, de Barzou, &c.; Heros fameux sous la Dynastie "des Keanides. 2 Volumes, in 4to. avec figures; unique en Europe." (Zend-avesta;

respecting this work, which he borrowed from a friend for any use. I found after a perusal of various parts, that, however pure its style and interesting its story, the *Barzú Námah* is but a feeble imitation of FIRDAUSI's *Sháh Námah*, which it equals only in length(41).

Tome II. p. DXXXVI). It seems doubtful whether ATA'I, as above mentioned, was the author of this work. And M. Anquetil himself in another place describes it as "composé, *a ce que l'on croit*, par Atai." (See "Memoires de l'Academie des "Inscriptions." Tome XXXI. p. 380).

(41) Of the *Barzú námah* (برزو نامه) that copy which I inspected was comprised in two folio volumes, adorned with pictures; and (like Anquetil's manuscript) wanted some part of the concluding story. Although it seemed perfect at the beginning, yet many verses must have been omitted; for the first lines that appeared were these:

درفشش ببردند با آو بهم

همي رفت پرخاشجوي دژم

"They carried his banner along with him; and the battle-seeking hero proceeded, "anxious in his mind;" a passage evidently referring to transactions with which the reader is supposed already in some degree acquainted. BARZU' was the son of SUHRA'B, who fell by the hand of his own father RUSTAM, neither being conscious of their consanguinity to the other. The lines here quoted, and many subsequent verses, are borrowed from the *Sháhámah*, and describe the advance of RUSTAM towards that combat which proved fatal to his son, and which has been celebrated by FIRDAUSI. It appears from the *Barzú Námah* that, equally ignorant of their mutual relationship, RUSTAM and his grandson fought against each other. But the catastrophe was different; for a timely disclosure of circumstances, proving BARZU' the son of SUHRA'B, induced his venerable antagonist to spare his life. The youth, however, was not overpowered before he had wielded a tree, as a mace, with such effect, as to intimidate RUSTAM, who (but we must not too readily believe the *Barzú Námah*) adopted against his unsuspecting foe, the base intention of destroying him by means of food, sent, during a truce, from his own kitchen, and previously touched with poison which the great chief of Persian warriors always carried, concealed in his ring. The *Barzú Námah* mentions several personages, whom I do not recollect in FIRDAUSI's work; such as the heroes KANKA'S (کنکاس); and SHEMI'LA'S (شمیلاس); JEHA'N SU'Z (جهانسوز) or "The World-burner."

For some *Zend* and *Pahlavi* volumes, (written specimens of the oldest Persian dialects now understood), I was indebted to another ingenious *Parsi*, named EDELJI. Of all their nation established in this place, he and FI'RU'Z were regarded as the most learned; it was said, indeed, that they alone could read or explain those manuscrips; the ancient language of *Irán* being almost totally forgotten, and even the modern disused among the *Parsís* of Bombay(42). But though they have adopted much from those whose country affords

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JEHA'N-BAKHSH, (جهان بخش). "He who bestows the world." I noted from the manuscript a few names of females; ZAR BA'NU' (زربانو) or "Gold-Lady;" KHU'RSHI'D BA'NU', (خورشید بانو) "The Sun-Lady;" and MERJA'NAH, (مرجانه) the title of an enchantress; and derived perhaps from *merján*, signifying red coral; or small grains of pearl. A fairy called MERJA'NAH in some Persian tale, has been compared by one of our writers, whose name at present I do not remember, to the MORGAIN or MORGANA of European romance. Among various male magicians in the *Barzú Námah*, appeared SU'SEN, (سوسن), or "The Lily;" and CHALIPA'I, (چلیپای), so entitled probably after *Chalipá*, that cross of which (according to the dictionary *Berhán Katten*), Christians imitate the form in gold and silver, and wear it suspended from their necks. Another magician bore the formidable name of TU'FA'N DI'V, (طوفان دیو), or "The Tempest-Demon." BARZU's mother was called SUAHRU', (شهرو); and the place of his birth *Sakán*, (سکنان).

(42) During my travels I collected several manuscripts concerning the history, religion, and language of the ancient Persians. Some are more particularly described in the course of these pages. At Bombay I procured Vocabularies of the *Zend* and *Pahlavi*; besides the *Bun Dehesh*, that extraordinary work, of which Monsieur Anquetil has published a French translation, with an engraved specimen from one page of his copy. (See the Zendavesta, Tome II. Boun-dehesch, p. 341). My copy, fairly written, in the *Pahlavi* language and character, is noticed in the appendix.

them protection against Mohammedan persecution, they still retain the religion of their Persian ancestors: whether with all its original purity, I shall not here inquire; yet certainly with so much of its excellence, as in a most remarkable degree influences their moral conduct. Every report that we heard on the spot, confirmed what different travellers have related concerning the active industry, hospitality, general philanthropy and benevolence of the *Parsis*; and tended to exalt that favourable opinion which I had already formed of their religion; as one, not only recommending, but actually producing virtuous habits; rendering the men who profess it honest, and the women chaste.

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CHAPTER III.

Parsís, Gabrs, or Fire-worshippers.

SO short was my residence at Bombay, that the praises which I have bestowed on its *Parsí* inhabitants, might, perhaps, be ascribed rather to some unreasonable partiality or predilection, than to any actual knowledge of their character and merits. It seems necessary, therefore, that I should confirm what has been above said in their favour, by subjoining the testimonies of others(1); and this justification of

(1) See Ovington's "Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689," p. 370. 373, &c. (oct. Lond. 1696). Moor's "Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment," &c. p. 380, 382, 383, &c. *Lord* Valentia's "Voyages and Travels," Vol. II. p. 188. 189. 4to. Mrs. Graham's "Journal of a Residence in India," &c. (second edition), p. 38, 41, 44, &c. Major Moor, (as above quoted), extracts from the Bombay Herald, (of October 4th. 1790), the following paragraph, "We are happy in the opportunity "of pointing out the liberality of *Soorabjee Muncherjee*, whose conduct does honour to "humanity; during the present scarcity of provisions, he daily feeds upwards of "*two thousand* people, of different casts, at his own expense." "Other publick

my opinion concerning the modern *Parsis*, may serve as an introduction, not unsuitable, to this chapter, whereof the intended subjects are their ancestors, and the religion which they professed, during a long succession of ages.

"instances might be given," adds Major Moor, (p. 382). "During the famine that "desolated India in the years 1805 and 1806, (as Mrs. Graham informs us, p. 44) "the Parsee merchant, Ardeseer Dadee, fed *five thousand* poor persons for three "months at his own expense; besides other liberalities to the starving people." Ovington, (p. 373), noticed their readiness to "provide for the sustenance and com- "fort of such as want it. Their universal kindness, either in employing such as are "needy and able to work, or bestowing a seasonable bounteous charity to such as are "infirm and miserable; leave no man destitute of relief, nor suffer a beggar in all "their tribe, and herein so far comply with that excellent rule of Pythagoras, *"to enjoy "a kind of community among friends."* But their benevolence is not restricted to persons of their own sect, as the extract above given, from a Bombay newspaper, evinces; and Major Moor, (p. 382), informs us that they even supply distressed *Europeans* with food and clothing. Their industry and extensive mercantile spirit have enabled many of them to amass considerable fortunes, which they spend with generous profusion in acts of charity and hospitality. A great portion of Bombay island, and most of the principal houses have become their property. They construct the finest ships in India; and while we were there, had nearly finished a vessel of seventy-four guns, for the king's service. In works of useful labour they thus employ their poor. "A Parsee beggar," says Major Moor, "was never known;" and he adds, that an unchaste woman of that sect is as rare as a beggar, (p. 383). Chastity, a virtue, so honourable in any country, we may perhaps consider as being (among Asiatick females), peculiar to the *Parsis* of India, and *Gabrs* of Persia. These have been celebrated by the learned Vossius, in his work, "De Idololatria," (Lib. II, Cap. LXIV. p. 240. Amst. 1700) thus; "Feminæ etiam pudicæ ac à scortatione alienæ;" on the respectable authority of a merchant who had resided eighteen years in Persia, and whose manuscript journal probably still exists, "viri fide dignissimi, Joannis "Mirnii, mercatoris Leodicensis; qui annis duodeviginti in regno Persiæ vixerat." I shall only add, that the praises bestowed by travellers, on the male and female fire-worshippers of Persia, were fully confirmed to me by the acknowledgments of their Mohammedan fellow-countrymen, who hated them merely from religious prejudice; but allowed that they were the most virtuous, industrious and inoffensive subjects within the empire of their sovereign.

Those were the ancient Persians who "erected not statues" to any vain deities(2); not believed, like the Greeks, that "Gods were clothed in human forms"(3). They were the Medes and Elamites, who, under Cyrus, broke all the "graven images of Babylon"(4); and under Xerxes, destroyed those

(2) Ἀγάλματα μὲν &c. Herodot: Lib. I. c. 131.

(3) Ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι. Ib. The critical reader will perceive that I have not availed myself of the interpretation given by Valla to the compound word ἀνθρωποφυέας, "*ex feminibus ortos.*" (See Jungerman's edition of Herodotus, folio. 1618, p. 56), although it is adopted in one place by Vossius, (De Idololatria, Lib. I. cap. 11) whilst in another (Lib. IX. De Physiolog. Christian. cap. 9). he writes "non existimant—Deos fieri qui homines fuerint." I have preferred the version of Stanley, who, in his "History of the Chaldaick Philosophy," (Chap. iii. p. 32. Lond. 1701), thus explains the whole passage, "for that they "did not believe as the Grecians, that the Gods were of humane form." He adds in a marginal note, ἀνθρωφυέας. i. e. ἀνθρωμόρφους; and accordingly in his edition of Æschylus, (ad Pers. 811) interprets ἀνθρωφυέα by "humana forma præditos." Larcher was the first who, in his translation of Herodotus, (1802) profited by Stanley's suggestion, according to Ouvaroff; (See that very interesting work, the "Essai sur les Mystères d'Eleusis." 3me. ed. Paris 1816. p. 74). I suspect, however, that the Theorist Burnet, (See his "Archæologiæ Philosophicæ; sive Doctrina Antiqua de Rerum Originibus, Lond. 1692, p. 27), discovered *something* of *anthropomorphism*, in ἀνθρωφυέας; for he thus renders into Latin the passage above quoted,—"quod "non quemadmodum Græci, sentiunt Deos more hominum esse natos, aut hominum "similes." And Blackwall, now known as the ingenious author of "Letters concern-"ing Mythology," (oct. Lond. 1748), to which he did not prefix his name, says that the true meaning of ἀνθρωφυέας is "*made like a man*:" (See Letter XVI. p. 217), considering it as synonymous with ἀνθρωμόρφους, used by Hecatæus, in his Account of the Jews. (See Photii Biblioth. 1611. col. 1151; erroneously numbered 2051). and Diod. Sicul. Eclog. vel Excerpta, p. 622. edit. Rhodoman. Hanov. 1604.) But I find that the acute Warburton, like Valla above quoted, would translate the word ἀνθρωποφυέας "ex hominibus ortos." See "The Divine Legation of Moses," Book II. Sect. 1. p. 96. (fourth edition, 1755).

(4) Go up, O Elam! besiege O Media!—Babylon is fallen, is fallen: and all the "graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground." (Isaiah, xxi. 2—9).

Grecian temples in which mortals had imprisoned the Gods, "to whom all things should be open and free; the whole world being their temple and habitation"(5).

Such were the ancestors of those denominated in India, *Parsís*, from their original country *Pars*(6), and by their oppressors, the Mohammedans of Persia, styled contemptuously *Gabrs*, in a sense equivalent to "infidels(7)." But the term was not dishonourable in its primitive signification; for it expressed, either the professors, generally,

(5) "Nec sequor Magos Persarum; quibus auctoribus Xerxes inflammasse templa "Græciæ dicitur, quòd parietibus includerent deos, quibus omnia deberent esse paten-"tia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset et domus." Cicer. de Legib. Lib. II. 26. Thus Tacitus relates of the old Germans, "ceterum nec cohibere "parietibus Deos," &c. (De Morib. Germ. 4). And Arnobius defending the early Christians from a reproach which they incurred for not having erected temples to their God, says "Nonne prima et maxima contumelia est habitationibus Deos habere "districtos? (Contra Gentes, Lib. V).

(6) The whole empire of Persia derived its name from *Pars* (پارس) called by the Greeks Περσις *(Persis)*; that province which contained the chief city, and the most splendid of all Royal palaces. From *Pars* is formed *Parsi* (پارسي).

(7) "*Gabr*," (with the vowel accent *fatteh*, giving a short sound like the *a* of our words *can*, *hat*, &c.) according to the manuscript dictionary, *Berhán Kattea*, "is "used in the sense of *Mugh*, which signifies a Fire-worshipper:"—

گبر بمعني مغ باشد که اتش پرست است

This is sometimes written, and very often pronounced *Garr*, by a change of letters frequent in Persian, as in other languages. "*Garr*," we learn from the dictionary *Jehangiri*, means "those fire worshippers, who observe the religion of *Zardusht*, (or "Zoroaster), and they are also called *Mugh*:"—

گور—اتش پرستانرا گویند که در دین زردشت باشند و انهارا مغ نیز نام نهند

But Origen, in the third century, defending Christianity against Celsus, an Epicurean,

or merely the priests, of a religion which taught, "the "worship of ONE GOD, without images(8);" and which might be styled "*philosophical*," when compared with the superstitions of all other heathens(9). Priests, who in cherishing on their altars a perpetual flame, seem only to have obeyed the injunctions of an inspired legislator instructing the chosen people, the children of Israel, as Huet remarks(10); while Dr. Hyde, an English theologian, contemporary with that justly celebrated French

who had alluded to the mysteries of Mithra, uses *Kaber* as equivalent to *Persians*. "Let Celsus know," says he, "that our prophets have not borrowed any thing from "the Persians or Kabirs,"—Ιστω δε Κελσος—ουτ' απὸ Περσῶν ἡ Καβείρων λαβόντες ἡμῶν οἱ προφῆται λέγουσί τινα.—(Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. VI. p. 291. Cantab. 1658). A Jewish writer, quoted by Hyde, (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. Cap. xxix.) declares that the Persians call their Priests (in the plural) *Chaberin*, (or *Khaberin*) פרסיים קורין לכומרין חברין whilst the singular חבר *Chaber* or *Khaber*, (occurring in the Talmud), is explained by Hebrew commentators, as signifying פרסאי *Parsái*, or Persians. On this subject Hadrian Reland has offered some remarks, in Dissert. IX. de Persicis Talmudicis. (See his "Dissert. Miscell. Part II. p. 297. Traj. ad Rhen. 1706). Dr. Hyde, however, as above cited, thinks that *Chaber* or *Chaver*, denoted both a priest and a layman; any person "modo sit hujus religionis; namque non notat "Persam gente sed Persam religione; nec statum civilem spectat."

(8) Sir Isaac Newton's "Chronology of the Empire of the Persians." (Ed. 1728). p. 351).

(9) "Quin et totus Persarum cultus, si reliquarum gentium superstitionibus confera-"tur, *Philosophicus* dici meretur." (Burnet's "Archæolog. Philosoph. p. 27. 1692).

(10) Atque hunc ritum non apud ipsos (Guebros) natum, sed a Chaldæis, vel aliunde, "uti et ipsorum pleraque, traductum meritò suspicatus est Agathias: Scilicet hoc "ipsum est præceptum Mosis, "*Ignis autem in altari semper ardebit*," &c. See the "Demonstratio Evangelica," (Fourth edition. Lips. 1694, p. 157). by Peter Daniel Huet, Bishop of Avranches. The precept of Moses, to which he alludes, is this, "And the fire upon the altar shall be burning in it: it shall not be put out.—The "fire shall be ever burning upon the altar; it shall never go out." (Levit. VI. 12—13).

Bishop, does not hesitate in declaring the ancient Medes and Persians, to have been worshippers of the "True God"; a race of the faithful; and haters of idolatry(11).

To the subject of their ancient religion, a few pages must be here devoted, and but a few; as in another work I shall offer many: not however intending to contradict that learned writer last quoted, with whom I sincerely join in respecting the old Persian worship; and sympathize in lamenting the infamous persecution which has caused its decay: but rather to support by new authorities, his arguments in its vindication: to rectify some points which he misapprehended through want of that information afforded by our intercourse with Asia, so considerably extended since his time; to supply some deficiencies in his admirable treatise, from oriental manuscripts, which he never had an opportunity of consulting; and to add from the same original sources, a variety of interesting matter(12).

(11) "Aborigines Medos et Persas in primo suo Religionis fundamine ab antiquo bene "initiatos fuisse in veri Dei cultu, et in eodem postea semper persitisse."——Et "quod Fideles erant, et veri Dei cultui addicti, &c.——Medi et Persæ quod essent "veri Dei cultores Idololatriam exosi:" See the "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum." Cap. I. p. 16. (Oxon. 1700). Hyde's favourable opinion respecting this pure Theism of the ancient Persians, an Abbe Foucher controverted in the "Memoires de l'Acad. "des Inscript. (Tome xxv. p. 116).

(12) Dr. Hyde's "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum," was first published at Oxford, in the year 1700; forming one quarto volume. The second edition, (likewise in quarto), with many corrections and augmentations, appeared at the same place in 1760. Those who possess either edition may regard it as a treasure of Eastern learning.

Mean while I shall here express my firm belief that the first Persian altars blazed in honour of God alone; as, likewise, that the present disciples of ZERADUSHT or ZARDEHESHT (Zoroaster), both in India and the mother country, *Irán* or Persia; have no other object when they render to Fire a semblance of veneration. Yet the original purity of their religion appears to have been affected, during intermediate ages, by various occasional schisms(13), and contaminated by heretical practices, which were, most probably, of short duration, and adopted only in particular districts of their extensive empire. We find them, however, gravely accused by classick writers, not only of worshipping the elements and celestial bodies, but even the persons of their living monarchs(14), and, at least, one statue of an imaginary divinity, bearing the human form(15).

(13) The different sects amounted to more than seventy; a circumstance, as Dr. Hyde remarks, not peculiar to the ancient Religion of Persia. "Cum itaque in hac "religione fuerint Sectæ plures quam 70 uti etiam sunt in Christianitate) non est "expectandum," &c. (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. Cap. V. p. 26. ed. 1700).

(14) See in the note immediately following, a reference made on this subject to Brisson's valuable work; and a passage quoted from Strabo.

(15) The Magians, considered as Gods, according to Diogenes Laertius, (in Proem. p. 2. Lond. 1664). "Fire, Earth and Water,"—οἱ καὶ πῦρ εἶναι, καὶ γῆν, καὶ ὕδωρ. But Herodotus had before him mentioned sacrifices offered on mountains to Jupiter, by the ancient Persians, and their worship of the sun and moon; of the earth; of fire, water, and of the winds; he adds, also, that they learned from the Assyrians and Arabians, to adore Venus *Urania*, or "celestial," which the Persians called *Mirra*, *Mitra*, Οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν &c.—Θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοις

That abuses so contrary to the orthodox principles of true Magism, did, to a certain degree, actually exist, at different times among the Persians, their zealous

—ἐστεφανώσαντο δὲ καὶ τὴ Οὐρανῳ θύειν, &c. (Herod. Lib. I. 131). Strabo, like Herodotus, declares that the Persians neither erected statues nor altars, "they "regard," says he, "the Heavens as Jupiter, and reverence the sun, which they call "Mithra. The moon, also and Venus; Fire, the Wind, and Water,"—τὸν οὐρανὸν νομίζουσι Δία· τιμῶσι τὸν δὲ καὶ Μίθρην, ὃν καλοῦσι· Μίθραν καὶ Σελήνην, καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, καὶ πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄνεμον, καὶ ὕδωρ. (Strab. Geog. Lib. XV. ed. Xyland. p. 847, Basil, 1571). Yet in a former passage of the same book, if the text be correct, he had affirmed that Mars alone was worshipped by the Persians: τὸν Ἄρεα μόνον Πέρσαι εἰδέναι θεῶν μόνον. What they called Jupiter, says Herodotus, was the whole compass or circuit of heaven, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τὸν οὐρανὸν Δία καλέοντες—(Lib. I. 131) which Strabo, as above quoted, confirms. From both authors, it appears, that the Persians did not attempt to embody, under the human form, an object of such immateriality as the celestial expanse. But Clemens Alexandrinus (Protrept. Sect. V.) gives us reason to believe that some of their Idols resembled human beings; and the statue of Venus Tenaia (τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ταναΐδα) mentioned by him, represented, without doubt, the female divinity more correctly named *Anaitis*; that Venus, we may suppose, whom the Persians learned to worship from neighbouring nations, as Herodotus has already declared. This was the *Anaeis* of Strabo, (Lib. XI. 10), and of Agathias, (Lib. XI). Plutarch, (Artax). also the *Anaitis* of Pliny, (Nat. Hist. Lib. XXXIII. c. 4), and by the Persians called *Anahid*, ناهيد or *Nahid* ناهيد This goddess I shall have occasion to mention in another place. Concerning the homage rendered to Persian kings, whose subjects, in the opinion of some writers, adored them as divinities, the ingenious Brisson, has collected nearly all that can be gleaned from the Greek and Latin authors of antiquity. (See "De Regio Persarum Principatu," Lib. I. p. 16, et seq. Argentorat. 1710, fourth edition). The notes which I have added to a copy of that excellent work, interleaved for my own use, furnish but one instance of any important passage respecting the adoration of kings, omitted by Brisson. It occurs in Strabo's description of Media; Lib. XI. where this Geographer says, that "the "dress now denominated Persick; and the fondness for archery and horsemanship; "the manner of attending and decorating kings; and the worship, such as is worthy "of Gods, which their subjects pay to those kings; all were communicated by the "Medes to the Persians:"—Ἡ γὰρ τῶν λεγομένων Περσικῶν στολὴ καὶ ὁ τῆς τοξικῆς ζῆλος, καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς βασιλέας δορυφορία καὶ κόσμος καὶ σεβασμὸς θεοπρεπὴς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας παρὰ τῶν Μήδων ἀφίκετο—

advocate, Dr. Hyde, does not deny; but in extenuation imputes them to those powerful kings, whose impieties or irregularities the priests could not control(16). It must also be acknowledged that the *Dabistán*, an extraordinary work, (discovered in Bengal about ninety years after the publication of Hyde's elaborate treatise) minutely discribes many Persian idols, their temples, the different kinds of incense offered to them, and other circumstances; the author Mohsan, a native of *Cashmir*, and surnamed Fani, professing, (as we may suppose with truth) to have derived his information from manuscripts, which, however rare, might still probably be found in India; although my inquiries after those named by him, particularly the اخترستان *Akhteristán*, (perhaps a treatise, as its title might announce, on the *Sabian* worship of stars,) proved unsuccessful among the booksellers of *Shiráz* and *Isfahán*(17).

(16) "Præterea, multa irregularia aliquando facta fuêre à quibusdam Persarum "Regibus, qui ex plenitudine potestatis, pro libitu sæpè fecerunt et fieri jusserunt ea "que non erant sancta; quibus orthodoxi sacerdotes non potuerunt resistere eave "impedire." (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. Cap. I. p. 27. ed. 1700).

(17) Sir William Jones first introduced the *Dabistán* (دبستان) to notice, in his "Discourse on the Persians; February 1789; (Asiatick Researches, Vol. II). The fortunate discovery of that work has cast, says he, "a gleam of light on the primeval "history of *Irán*, and of the human race, of which I had long despaired, and which "could hardly have dawned from any other quarter." This induced Mr. Gladwin, a few months after, to publish and translate in his "New Asiatick Miscellany" (Calcutta, 1789,) that section of the "*Dabistán*, or School of Manners," which describes the Religious tenets and ceremonies of the ancient Iranians. The whole work has since been

It may likewise be admitted that certain passages of a few rare works besides the *Dabistán* above mentioned, seem to indicate, among the ancient *Iranians*, something like *Sabeism*, once so prevalent in Asia; and even to imply the adoration of images. On another occasion I shall duly examine the manuscripts containing those passages, which hitherto, no European antiquary appears to have noticed. But it will be found that they do not impeach the general orthodoxy of Persian Magism; and on any subject connected with religion, the authority of *Muselmán* writers must be strongly suspected; for, except two or three, whose liberal opinions and extensive researches induce me to doubt their sincerity as disciples of MOHAMMED; they affect a contemptuous indifference, as if wilfully ignorant, concerning all modes of faith besides their own. Thus they frequently confound the respect paid to images, with the rites introduced by ZARDEHESHT, or ZERATUSHT; although they might have learned from FIRDAUSI, the Eastern Homer, that those forms of worship were absolutely incompatible; that whatever images (if any) existed in Persia at the time

printed at Calcutta in the original Persian. Through the kindness of Lord Teignmouth, I was once gratified in perusing a manuscript copy of the *Dabistán* which he had lent, several years before, to Sir William Jones, and which was, in many places, marked by the pen of that great orientalist. It appears that in composing his *Dabistan*, MOHSAN consulted the *Desatir* (دساتير) a very rare work, of which, according to advertisements lately circulated, (1817) an English translation has been made at Bombay through the medium of FIRUZ, that ingenious *Parsi* already mentioned in p. 98.

when ZARDEHESHT promulgated his doctrines, reforming the old system of *Pyrolatry*, were immediately destroyed; and even that active efforts were made by his zealous followers, to abolish the idols of *Hindustán*, and of other bordering countries(18).

It is not necessary in this place to offer any remarks on the various philosophers who at different times bore the title of Zoroaster, which, as our ingenious Stanley observed, "seems to have been been attributed to such persons as were eminently learned"(19). One is described as a Chaldean or Assyrian; one a Bactrian; another a Pamphylian; Armenian; Proconnesian; and one a Persian, or Perso-Mede. It is uncertain which of these

(18) This most particularly appears from the story of ISFENDYAR, son of GUSHTASP, (or *Hystaspes*), as related by FIRDAUSI, in his *Shahnamah*. That warlike prince boasts of his early exertions in supporting ZARDEHESHT's religion, and in extirpating the race of image-worshippers:—

نخستین کمر بستم از بهر دین
تهی کردم از بت پرستان زمین

He declares that a *Brahman* no longer remained in the idol-temples.

به بتخانها بر برهمن نماند

This line might afford subject for some discussion, did we not know from preceding passages, that the Indian monarch had promised to renounce Idolatry in consequence of ISFENDYAR's solicitation, aided by the menacing aspect of a powerful army. And the primary sense attributed to *Brahman* (برهمن) by the Persian Lexicographer whose work, (the MS. *Berhan kattea*) has been so often quoted; is *but perest*, (بت پرست) or "image-worshipper," in a general signification.

(19) "History of the Chaldaick Philosophy."—Part. XVI. Ch. I.

should be regarded as the first; but few can dispute priority with him who flourished six thousand years before Plato, according to Eudoxus(20). The prophet, however, or legislator, whose name we find written in Persian books, ZARDEHUSHT, or ZARATUSHT, is manifestly that Zoroaster, whom the Greek historian Agathias calls *Zoroados*, or *Zarades*, and justly assigns to the age of king Hystaspes, preceding Christ by about five hundred years(21).

Persian *Idolatry* (I can scarcely prevail on myself to combine those words) shall be the subject of some remarks in another work. Perhaps *Idolatry* does not accurately express my meaning, which is restricted to the adoration of images, statues, or painted and sculptured forms of any sort; for I must here allow the respect paid to Fire by the *Parsis*; and am aware that our venerable Stillingfleet considered the worship of that element, or of the sun, as a "chief point of Idolatry"(22);

(20) Thus quoted by Pliny, (Nat. Hist. Lib. xxx. c. 1). "Sed unus hic fuerit, an "postea et alius, non satis constat; Eudoxus qui inter sapientiæ sectas clarissimam "utilissimamque eam intelligi voluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex millibus annorum ante Pla-"tonis mortem fuisse prodidit."

(21) Ζωροάστρου—ουτος δέ ὁ Ζωρόαδος παρὰ Ζαράδῃ. Agath. Lib. I. p. 58. Lug. Bat. 1594.

(22) Stillingfleet, speaking of the Chaldæans and Persians, in his "Origines Sacræ," (second edition, 4to. 1663. p. 44). says "their agreement in the chief point of Idolatry, "the worship of the sun, and consequently the ἱερατεία or Symbol of the Sun," &c.

although a very ingenious and learned mythologist does not concur in this opinion(23).

Whatever foreign heresies may have subsequently infected the Persians; it is allowed by Vossius, who most diligently investigated the subject of idolatry, that in early ages, Fire was to them but as a Symbol of God(24); and such it is at present among their descendants, the *Parsis* and *Gabrs*, or rather as they denominate themselves, *Behdin*, and *Mazdiesnán*. The first name, *Behdin*, compounded of *beh* "good, excellent," and *din* "religion"(25), signifies one who professes the true faith, or *din-i-beh*; that worship established in Persia by Zardehusht or Zeratusht, after the reformation of several abuses, which had corrupted the primitive magism(26). That *beh* was an epithet almost peculiarly

(23) "That the Persians of most early time were not Idolaters, but worshipped "One God, the Creator of the world, under the symbol of Fire, is acknowledged by all "their historians," &c. (Blackwall's "Letters concerning Mythology." Let. xix. p. 371).

(24) "Ac primò quidem Ignem coluere ut Dei symbolum". (Voss. de Idol. Lib. II. c. 65).

(25) *Behdin*, (بهدين). "Among themselves," says Pietro della Valle, "they are not "styled *Gaurs*, which word properly signifies "*Infidels*, or *Heathens*;" but they "call each other in the Persian language *Behdin*, implying "of the good faith." "Essi fra di loro non si chiamano *Gauri*, la qual parola propriamente vuol dire infedeli o "Ethnici; ma si chiamano in lingua Persiana *Behdin*, che significa "*Di buona fede*." (Viaggi. Persia. lettera 3. de' 18. di Decemb. 1617.) The ceremonies of initiation necessary to a *Behdin* are described in Anquetil's Zendavesta." (Tome II. p. 553. 554).

(26) In modern Persian, the name of that celebrated prophet or legislator, whom we generally style Zoroaster, is variously written Zaratusht, Zaradusht, Zaradhusht, Zartusht, &c. as we find from the *Berhán Kattea*, and other MSS. and

consecrated to the religion and disciples of ZARDEHUSHT, might be proved by a multiplicity of quotations; I shall here extract the first passage in which it occurs, from the *Shah-namah* of FIRDAUSI, who was intimately acquainted with the antiquities of his country, and lived at a period (in the tenth and early in the eleventh century), when Persia abounded with *Behdins*, whose religious opinions he not only well understood, but, as was suspected (and it seems to me with reason) secretly entertained.

The passage to which I have alluded, is from that part of FIRDAUSI's poem wherein he describes the first

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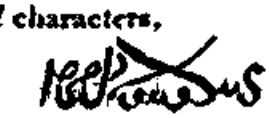
as Dr. Hyde has explained in his "Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. 24, p. 309. (Ox. 1700), where it is given also in *Zend* characters, *Zaratushtrish*, &c. which, however, he seems to have mistaken for *Pehlavi*; "in nuperis Apographis in lingua *Pehlavi* scriptis," &c. M. Anquetil has shown (Zendav. Tome I. p. 77. Plate V) how his *Zend* copy of the *Vendidad Sadé*, exhibits *Zeréthoushtr*, which, in mine, (a perfect and beautiful manuscript), appears under the same form. But another volume entitled "*Kitab "Sheirst u nah Sheirst*," (كتاب شايست ونه شايست), or the "Book of Right and "Wrong," which I procured from a *Behdin*, (or *Gabr*), at *Shirâz*, containing passages of ancient Persian, interspersed throughout the modern work; represents *Zarathúsht*, thus fancifully written in *Zend* characters,



the penman having contrived, by an extraordinary prolongation, to cross the strokes that form R and TH. In an original Arabick fragment of TABRI's chronicle (preserved among the Cottonian MSS. British Mus. Vitell. A. IV). we find both ZARADUST (زرادشت) and ZARDUST (زردشت); but the oldest Persian translations of that work, represent the name as ZARDUSHT, (زردشت), while FIRDAUSI, in every copy of his *Shahnamah* that I have seen, writes it ZARDEHUSHT (زردهشت); and many *Iranians* of my acquaintance pronounced it ZERATUSHT, or ZARATUSHT. These circumstances are here remarked, since under some of the names aforementioned, Zoroaster will often appear in the course of my researches.

interview between ZARDEHUSHT and GUSHTASP, in imitation of whose name the Greeks wrote HYSTASPES. Having announced his divine mission, the prophet advises that monarch to accept the new religion, and, as if prompted by some sudden inspiration, or miraculous conviction of its truth, GUSHTASP immediately complies.

"Learn," said ZARDEHUSHT, "the rites and doctrines "of the religion of *excellence*. For without religion there "cannot be any worth in a king. When the mighty (or "*excellent*) monarch heard him speak of the *excellent* religion, "he accepted from him the *excellent* rites and doctrines(27)."

I have here shown by Italick letters, how *beh* and its derivative *behi* ocur in the original passage; an inscription which I diseovered among the remains of JEMSHID's palace or throne, at Persepolis, represents *beh* thus

(27) This passage is comprised in two *beits*, or couplets:—

بیاموز ایین دین بهي که بي دین نباشد سزاي شهي

چو بشنید از و شاه به دین به پزیرفت از و راه و ایین به

In three copies of the *Shahnamah* out of five manuscripts now before me, the epithet *beh* follows *shah* in the third line; but the copies which have *meh*, (great or mighty), are the oldest, and seem the most correct. This word مه when accented with the vowel accent *kesra*, which gives it the sound of *meh* or *mih*, is equivalent in signification to *buzurg*, (بزرگ) great, powerful, &c. as we learn from the MS. dictionary *Berhan Kattea*. It seems in this sense to form part of (مهابان) the name of a personage described after some Persian accounts, as "the first monarch of *Irán*, "and of the whole earth," by Sir William Jones, who writes it, however, *Mahabad*, it being in his opinion, "a word apparently *Sanscrit*." (Discourse on the Persians. Asiat. Res. Vol. II. p. 69. oct).

in Pahlavi characters(28); and on various medals now before me of the Sassanian kings, (those who governed Persia from the year 229 to 632), we find *beh*, forming part of their *Pahlavi* legends, thus expressed and ; and preceding the royal name. I ventured once to trace this epithet still farther back; and some silver coins obtained during my residence at *Isfahán* and *Tehrán*, have confirmed me in the opinion that it was adopted by monarchs of the Arsacidan or Parthian dynasty(29).

The second appellation, assumed chiefly in their books, by the Indian and Persian disciples of ZARDEHUSHT, is *Mazdaïesnán*, above mentioned, signifying "those who

(28) This inscription, of twelve lines, and another, likewise in *Pahlavi*, of eleven lines, seem to have escaped the notice of former travellers. The copies which I took have not yet enabled me to ascertain their whole purport; but that they are of the Sassanian times cannot be doubted, since SHAPOUR, AUHORMIZDI, and VARHARAN, (kings whom our historians call *Sapor*, *Hormisdas*, and *Vararanes*), are indisputably mentioned in those passages which I have already deciphered. A further account and engravings of the two inscriptions, will be found in another part of this work.

(29) That celebrated orientalist M. de Sacy, already quoted in this work, (p. 62), was the first who deciphered any inscription in the Sassanian *Pahlavi*; (See his "Memoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse," 4to. Paris, 1793); and the alphabet, which he so ingeniously ascertained, enabled me to explain some legends that had not fallen under his inspection. (See "Observations on medals and gems, bearing inscriptions in the Pahlavi or ancient Persick character." 4to. Lond. 1801). In this work I ascribed to one of the Arsacidan monarchs, a bronze coin published by Pellerin; (in the third supplement to his "Receuil des Medailles," plate I. fig. 13), on which the epithet *beh* appears before the name; and others of the same class, (but silver) in my own collection, exhibit, like Sassanian medals, a fire altar on the reverse. One of the engravings subjoined, will shew their devices and inscriptions.

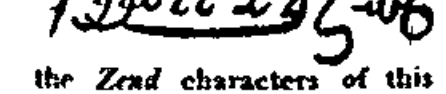
"invoke ORMAZD, or ORMUZD." Although some passages of the Zendavesta, in M. Anquetil's translation, seem to describe ORMUZD as a subordinate power; yet other parts of the same work unequivocally designate the Almighty by this name; for ORMUZD is declared to be the first of celestial spirits; the author of all good; the intelligence that never sleepeth; the sovereign judge; the being who made all things(30). He was the ORMASDES, or OROMAZES of Greek writers, and, according to Plutarch, was esteemed by Zoroaster, and many others, as GOD; the principle of good; the Deity who created Gods; and ornamented Heaven with stars(31).

(30) *Zendavesta*, Tome I. Part II. p. 100, 403, 416. Tome II. p. 25, and many other places which the copious "Table des matieres" will sufficiently indicate. Dr. Hyde had before remarked that the Persians sometimes bestowed one of their many names for God, (*Yezad*), on those angels, through whom the divine commands were executed. "Quia Deus, aliquid loquens aut faciens, id facit per angelos qui "Dei vice fungentes ipsius vocabulo honorantur; ut et sæpe, (si non semper) fit in "Vet. Test. ubi angelus haud semel vocatur Deus, et ejus loco honoratur, ut tam "alibi quam in casu Manoæ qui dicit se vidisse angelum et tamen metuit se morituram "quia viderat Deum." See "Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. ix. p. 180. (edit. 1700). See also cap. ii. p. 64. and cap. xv. p. 396). The learned author notices, (in cap. xx. p. 260,) that ORMUZD, اورمزد or HORMUZD, هرمزد and HORMUZ, هرمز one of the names given to God, is used likewise to express the first day of the month, and the Angel who presides over the occurrences of it by God's command. He might have added HURMUZD (هورمزد) and HURMUZ (هورمز) as I find the name written in books of the modern *Parsis* or *Gabrs*.

(31) Προσάπτει δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀρίστον θεὸν καλοῦσιν—καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου, ἐκείνῳ—καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστρων ἐκόσμησεν.—De Isid. et Osir. Vide Plut. Opera, Tom. II. p. 369. (Edit. Xyland. Francof. 1620). Agathias writes the name Ορμάσδης and Ὁρμισδάσπης. Vide "Histor. Lib. II. p. 58. 59. (Edit. Bon. Vulcan. Lugd. Bat. 1594).

Mazdiesn appears, as expressing "a worshipper of "ORMUZD," in many *Pahlavi* inscriptions(32), and on examining my copy of the *Vendidad Sadé*, (a *Zend* manuscript before mentioned), I find that the oblique cases, and the plural are formed by adding certain letters to *Mazdeïesn*(33); although the nominative singular is *Mazdeïesnu*, which Anquetil, in his translation of that work, writes *Mazdeïesnan*(34).

(32) M. de Sacy has delineated various *Pahlavi* forms of the word *Mazdiesn*, as found on monuments in Persia, and traced by different travellers; also on medals of Sassanian kings, preserved in the royal cabinet at Paris. (See his "Mem. sur div. Antiq." &c. pl. I. VII. VIII. IX.) The inscription which I copied at Persepolis, (See note 28.) exhibits *Mazdiesn* thus in *Pahlavi* characters,

(33) Divested of the occasional terminations *s*, *sh* &c. *Mazdeiesn* is thus written  in the *Kitab Sheïest* mentioned above (note 26); but the *Zend* characters of this manuscript do not equal either in size, beauty or distinctness those of Anquetil's engraved specimen, nor of my *Vendidad Sadé*.

(34) Zendavesta, Tome I. 2. part. p. 123. "Je suis Mazdeïesnan," &c. "LeMazdeïesnan (disciple) de Zoroastre," &c. p. 177. and other passages. Yet explaining the original *Zend* in corresponding letters of our alphabet, he writes *Mazdéïesnô*. (See p. 77.) according to the Indian pronunciation, while a Persian would accent the last syllable as if spelt noo or nu. (نُو, au Kirman *Ou*." See the plate of "Lettres Perses "anciennes et modernes;" Zendav. Tome II. p. 424.) I have found *Mazdiesnán* thus written مزديسنان in modern Persian characters at the end of many books transcribed by *Parsis* at Surat and Bombay; wherein it is requested that all who read, should pray for the writer. A copy of the *Ardai-siraf-namah* (أردای ویراف نامه) closes with the penman's recommendation of his work, which he styles "a very good and desirable "treatise on the institutes of the *excellent* religion of *Mazdiesnáns* (or worshippers of "ORMUZD) and on that which is right and wrong, according to the faith of ZARTUSHT, "(descended from) ISFENTEMAN."

این کتاب خوب و مرغوب اندر راه دین به مزدیسنان در شایست و ناشایست دین زرتشت اسفنتمان

Such are the two denominations chiefly affected by the modern *Gabrs* and *Parsís*, disciples of the *dín-i-beh* or "excellent faith," as FIRDAUSI emphatically and peculiarly designates the worship introduced by ZARDEHUSHT; whose first appearance is noticed in the *Shah-namah* about the middle, or after a series of sixty thousand lines, during which the poet does not once apply that flattering title to the national religion of Persia. Yet those pious kings and heroes, whom he celebrates as flourishing there before the promulgation of ZARDEHUSHT's doctrines, are styled *pák-dín* or "pure in faith," and *Khuda-perest*, *Ayzed* or *Ized-perest*, and *Yezdán-perest*; all three denominations signifying "worshippers of God;" the same Supreme Being; "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!"

Thus MINUCHEHR, a mighty king, whose reign, from the most moderate calculation, appears anterior to ZARDEHUSHT's mission by more than two hundred years, (and before the commencement of our era above seven hundred), when dying in extreme old age, instructs his son NAUDER; "thou must never be of any other than the *pák-dín* sect, "or "pure in faith(35)," and "watch that thou turn not "aside from the religion of God"(36).

(35) نباید که باشي جز از پاک دین

(36) نگر تا ننتابي ز دین خداي

Subsequent to these lines by, at least, twenty thousand distichs, another part of FIRDAUSI's work represents GUSHTASP ascending the Persian throne, while he was yet a *pákdín*(37) according to the old Magian rites, or before the coming of ZARDEHUSHT; and expressing his piety towards God, whom he mentions under three names as perfectly synonymous. "I am," exclaims he, "a sovereign, the worshipper "of YEZDAN; on me the holy AYZED hath bestowed "this imperial crown; he gave it to me, that I may drive "away the wolf far from the flock of sheep. When the "ceremonies necessary on the assumption of royalty shall have "been duly performed, I'll bring over all the wicked to the "religion of (KHODA) God. And he accordingly dispensed "justice in such a manner that from its influence the wolf "and the sheep drank together at the same stream(38).

"And that the unity of God was from the earliest time an established point of belief among those who professed

(37) It does not appear that the term *pák-dín* was wholly disused after Zoroaster's reformation of the ancient Magism. It is, on two or three occasions, applied by FIRDAUSI in a literal sense, to persons who professed the new religion, which probably caused but some slight alterations in the external forms of worshipping God under the long-established Symbol of Fire.

(38) منم گفت یزدان پرستنده شاه — مرا ایزد پاک داد این کلاه
بدان داد مارا کلاه بزرگ — که بیرون کنیم از رمه میش گرگ
چو آیین شاهان بجای آوریم — بدان‌را بدین خدای آوریم
یکی داد کستر کر داد اوی — ابا گرگ میش آب خوردی بجوی

the "pure faith," or "religion of the ancient heroes," (always put in opposition with polytheism and idolatry;) we learn from various passages of FIRDAUSI's work(*).

Yet from the time of HUSHANG, second monarch of the most ancient dynasty, when sparks were first produced by the accidental collision of hard rocks and esteemed a miraculous revelation of fire; all those illustrious personages so "pure in faith," are, whilst worshipping one Supreme God, represented as contemplating a sacred

(*) In this the Supreme Being is frequently addressed as *Dád-gar yek Khudai*, دادگر یک خدای and *Dád deh yek Khudai* دادده یک خدای both expressions signifying "thou just and only God!" FIRDAUSI, in the history of king NUSHIRVAN, representing two persons of the most opposite descriptions, contrasts them as being

یکی بت پرست و دگر پاک دین.

"one an idolater; the other a *pák-din*. My authority for the *Pahlavi Kish*, "Religion of heroes," is a line found in many copies of the *Shahnamah*, but not in all. Three, however, of the five now on my table, thus present it in the letter which ARJASP wrote whilst indignant on hearing that GUSHTASP had become a convert to the new form of worship. "Thou hast corrupted or abolished the heroick faith, the religion of "ancient warriors."

تبه کردی آن پهلوی کیش را

ARJASP's letter in thirty nine couplets, extracted from the *Shahnamah*, has been published at Calcutta, with an English translation, by the ingenious Colonel Kirkpatrick, (New Asiatick Miscellany, 1789, p. 50), and it gives this passage; but I find in many parts a considerable difference existing between the printed epistle and my manuscript copies, one of which exceeds it in length by sixteen lines, containing some allusions to the ancient sovereigns, JEMSHID and ZOHAK, and their lapses from the true faith. Indeed the manuscripts differ one from another not only in this but in every part of the *Shahnamah*, and exhibit such a variety of readings, as would weary the most patient and persevering drudge who should undertake to collate several copies of a work, comprising more than one hundred and twenty thousand lines.

flame, the symbol of divine light(40). This is sufficiently demonstrated by FIRDAUSI in many passages of his great work: but particularly those memorable lines which some readers may be gratified on seeing printed (for the first time, I believe) in Persian characters(41). To offer my own translation of them would be presumptuous, since Sir William Jones has already thus quoted them in

(40) So well has Dean Prideaux expressed the *Magian* opinions on this subject, that I shall not apologize for citing his words. Having observed that "they, abominating all "images, worshipped God only by Fire;" he mentions their belief that "Light was "the truest Symbol of the Good God; and therefore they always worshipped him "before Fire, as being the cause of Light, and especially before the sun, as being in "their opinion the perfectest Fire, and causing the perfectest Light. And for this "reason in all their temples they had Fire continually burning on altars, erected in "them for that purpose; and before these sacred fires they offered up all their publick "devotions, as likewise they did all their private devotions before their private fires "in their own houses. Thus did they pay the highest honour to Light as being in their "opinion the truest representative of the Good God, but always hated darkness as "being what they thought the truest representative of the Evil God, whom they ever "had in the utmost detestation as we now have the Devil." (Connection of the Old and New Testament.) Part. I. book 3. Vol. I. p. 253. (Eleventh edit. 1749). This and other passages of Prideaux's work, favourable to the Persians, have produced a sneer from the dogmatical Warburton, (Div. Legat. Book IV. Sect. I), who, admitting an early Bactrian Zoroaster, regards the story of one contemporary with Darius Hystaspis, as a *Persian tale*, which he threatens to examine on some future occasion. But however learned and ingenious, he did not possess over Dean Prideaux any advantage respecting Oriental literature; and exposes himself to animadversion, in more places than that wherein he interprets allegorically, the *Descent of Æneas*: a celebrated portion of his work, which Gibbon has refuted in a masterly piece of criticism.—See "Observations on the Sixth Book of the Æneid".

(41) یکي هفته در پیش یزدان بدند میندار کاتش پرستان بدند
که آنش بدانکاه محراب بود پرستنده را دیده پر آب بود
اکر چندت اندیشه باشد دراز هم از پاک یزدان نه پي تیاز

English. "Think not that they (CAI-KHUSRAU or Cyrus, and his maternal grandfather, who had prostrated themselves before the blazing altar) were adorers of fire; "for that element was only an exalted object, on the "lustre of which they fixed their eyes; they humbled "themselves a whole week before *God*; and if thy understanding be ever so little exerted, thou must acknowledge "thy dependence on the Being supremely pure(42)."

That this was an act of true devotion and properly directed, the historian TABRI, although Mohammedan, allows in a passage, which likewise indicates the place where it was performed. CAI-KHUSRAU, says he, having unsuccessfully pursued AFRASIAB, the murderer of his father, through many regions, at length "returned to *Irán*, "and there firmly established the imperial authority; then "turned his face (or proceeded) towards the fire-temple of "*Aderbaijan* for the purpose of praying to almighty God(43)."

We learn from FIRDAUSI that this transaction occurred in the fire-temple called *Azer-Gushasp*(44), which, according

(42) Sir William Jones's Discourse on the Persians.—Asiat. Researches. Vol. II.

(43) باز گشت و بآيران آمد و پادشاهي را قرار داد و روي بآتشكده آذربايجان نهاد
از بهر نيايش بحضرت باري تعالي

(44) آذر گشسب To this sanctuary, after a lapse of ten centuries, another Persian prince named KHUSRAU, (and surnamed PARVIZ) fled for refuge from his father's anger.

to lines immediately following his verses above quoted, was situate in *Azer-abadegán*, or Media; and, as the best manuscript dictionaries inform us, at *Tabriz*(45).

It appears also from one of these works, that a fire-temple named *Azer Berzín* was founded by CAI-KHUSRAU in *Fars*, or *Pars* (the province of Persia proper(46); and MOHSAN

و پرویز باذربایجان رسیده بود و به اذرگشسب اندر شده و عبادت میکرد

"and PARVIZ had arrived in *Azerbaijan*, and entered the *Azergushseb*, and there "employed himself in devotion." MS. *Terikh Tabri*. (Hist. of king HORMUZ). So the name appears in the oldest of my copies: but two have اذرکشسب *Azergushseb*, with *b* after the Arabick manner. But the *Farhang Jehangiri* assigns the name of *Azer Gushesp* also to a Fire-Temple, erected at *Balkh* by GUSHTASP, wherein he concealed his treasures: and, it is added, that the Temple was demolished and the treasures carried away by SEKANDER, (or ALEXANDER). This circumstance, as related by NIZAMI, a celebrated Persian poet of the twelfth century, I shall have occasion to notice in a future account of Eastern traditions respecting the Macedonian conqueror.

(45) The royal chiefs and nobles remained one month in *Azerabadegán*,—

بیک ماه در اذرابادگان ببودند شاهان و ازادگان

Such are the words of FIRDAUSI. We read in the manuscript Dictionary entitled *Berhan Kattea* that "*Azerabadgán* signifies the city of *Tabriz*, and likewise, the "fire-temple of *Tabriz*, for as this City abounded with Fire-temples it has been thence "named *Azerabadgan*."

اذرابادگان—نام شهر تبریز و نام آتشکده تبریز ست گویند، چون در تبریز آتشکده بسیار بود، است بنابر آن بکهن نام موسوم شده است

See also the *Farhang Jehangiri* (in اذر *Azer*) which adds that *Azerabadegán*, according to the Arabian mode of writing becomes *Azerbaijan*: و معرب آن اذربایجانست

The words *Azer* (اذر), and *Atish* (اتش) appear to be synonymous, and signify *Fire*.—See *Berhan Kattea* in *Azer*.

(46) See the MS. *Farhang Berhán Kattea* in *Azer Berzín*. اذربرزین

FANI ascribes to that mighty sovereign, a fire-temple at *Ardebil*; and to his predecessor FARIDUN, one at *Tûs*(41). Another writer, SHAHRISTANI, enumerates various fire-temples in *Sejestán*, in *Fars*, between *Fars* and *Isfahan*, in *Kûmes*, and different places: "these houses," says he "were prior to ZERADUSHT"(42)

Of all ante-Zoronstrian fire-temples, the principal seems to have been that constructed at *Balkh*, and from its beauty entitled *Nau-behár*, or "lovely as the dawn of spring"(43). With

(41) See the "*Dabistan*," or "School of Manners," in the New Asiatick Miscellany, p. 135. (Calcutta, 1789).

(42) وهذه البيوت آلت قبل زرادشت See the whole Arabick passage quoted from SHAHRISTANI's work, in Hyde's Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 163. cap. vii) Oxon. 1700). I find that the most common Persian names for a Fire-temple are *Atish gah*, آتش گاه or "place of the Fire;" *Atish-Khanah* آتش خانه and *Atish-Kedah* آتش كده or Fire house. This the Arabians express by *Beit-Nár* بيت نار equivalent in signification; and on account of its Temple they our' εξοχην, style Jerusalem, *Beit al mekedes* بيت المقدس "the Holy House." The Hebrews themselves most frequently use the same word (*Beit*) in describing "the house which King Solomon built for the Lord." (I. Kings, c. VI. v. 2.)

הבית אשר בנה המלך שלמה ליהוה

and which comprehended the *Haikel* היכל (*pars templum,*) mentioned in verse 17; for however sometimes confounded with *Beit* בית the whole house,—(*aedes, domus*) this *Haikel* was but a part of Solomon's Temple; yet classed among Persian words in the MS. *Berhan Kattea*, we find that *Haikel*, signifies an Idol-temple; also any spacious and lofty edifice.

هيكل—بتخانه را گويند و هر بنايي كه عظيم و رفيع باشد

(43) So we are authorized to translate *Naubehár*, as compounded most obviously, of *Nau* (نو) "new," and *Behár* (بهار) the "spring season." Dr. Hyde, accordingly, in some remarks on the *Ferhang Jehangiri*, mentions this Temple, "quod propter "vernantem ornatum vocabatur (نوبهار) *Nau-behár*; i. e. *Novum ver.*" (Hist. Rel.

what veneration it was regarded, at least during the life of him who succeeded the illustrious CYRUS, appears in some lines which I shall here extract from the *Shahnámeh*.—"When "LOHRASP had resigned the imperial dignity to his son "GUSHTASP, he descended from the throne; and having "bound up his garments, secluded himself at *Balkh*, in the "*Nau-behár*, which was respected by the fire-worshippers of "that time, as *Mecca* is now by the Arabians. Into this "house (or temple) entered the venerable man, a *yezdán-*

Vet. Pers. cap. xxiii. p. 303—See also, cap. iii. p. 101. ed. 1700.) Yet from passages in that *Farhang*, or dictionary, and in the *Berhan Kattea*, it seems to me doubtful whether *Nau-behar* was a title peculiarly bestowed on any edifice, and I shall take another opportunity of showing from many excellent manuscripts, that like the simple word *Bahár*, it signified a structure dedicated to the worship of fire; (آتشکده *Atesh-Kadeh*,) or of idols, (بتخانه *But-khánah*,) by which we may understand images; and that it was used in a general sense, to describe various temples, as the *Naubehar-i-mah* (نوبهار ماه) or temple of the Moon, *Naubehar i-Tir* (تیر) the temple of Mercury; *Naubehar-i-Nahid* (ناهید) the temple of Venus; and so of the other planets. I think it probable that *Bihar*, *Behar* or *Vehar*, with a meaning the same or almost equivalent, is as old as the first of those structures that it designates. Reland, in his "Dissertatio de Linguis Insularum "Orientalium" (Diss. Misc. part. iii. p. lxxxv. Traj. ad Rhen. 1708) explains the Ceylonese word *Vehar*, as, "*Templum Dei primarii Buddoe*," on the authority of old European travellers. From more recent we learn that in Ceylon it is used (*Vihare* or *Vihari*), not only to express a temple, but also a college or habitation of priests. See among other writers Maloony and Joinville. As. Res. Vol. VII. p. 39 and 422, (oct. ed.) An ingenious Orientalist, Mr. Chambers, (As. Res. Vol. I. p. 163), informs us, that "the word *Vihár*, or as the natives of Bengal would write it, *Bihár*, is *Shanscrit*" and that according to the historian FERISHTAH, a certain province of India was denominated *Behár*, as having formerly abounded with *Bramins*, who rendered it one great *literary*, (and we may perhaps add *religious*) seminary.

"*perest*, or one who adored God"(50). And here, adds FIRDAUSI, "he employed thirty years before the Lord, in "performing religious duties(51)."

The *house (khaneh)* mentioned in this passage, reminds me of an edifice so designated by SOCRATES, the ecclesiastical historian, who relates that the Persian monarch was accustomed to adore fire constantly burning in a particular *house*(52). And another Greek writer, AGATHIAS, having noticed the magian's veneration of fire, describes those sacred *houses*, in which they cherished a perpetual flame, as being small, and situate at some distance from

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(50) چو گشتاسپ را داد لهراسپ تخت — فرود آمد از تخت و بربست رخت
ببلخ گزین شد بد ان نوبهار — که آتش پرستان بد ان روزگار
مر ان خانه را داشتندی چنان — که مر مکفرا تازیان این زمان
بدان خانه شد مرد یزدان پرست

In the fourth line some copies of the *Shahnamah* have *Yezdán perestán* (worshippers of God,) for *Atesh-perestan*, Fire-worshippers; and in the seventh line they substitute *Atesh-perest* for *Yezdan-perest*, I have adopted the text of my oldest and best Manuscripts. The first six lines are quoted in the *Farhang Jehangiri*, and those verses of FIRDAUSI prove, according to this excellent Dictionary, (in *Nowbehar* نوبهار) that a Fire-temple is signified; این شعر حکیم فردوسی دلالت بر آتشکده میکند for *Nowbehar* is said to have been also the name of an Idol-temple.

(51) همي بود سي سال پيش خداي

(52) Ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν οἴκῳ τινὶ τὸ ἔμπυρον καιόμενον Πυρ προσκυνεῖν. Socr. Hist. Eccles. Lib. vii. c. 8.

any publick thoroughfare; for so, perhaps, should be interpreted his expression(50).

To reconcile this with the account given by STRABO, we may suppose the altar erected under a building of inconsiderable dimensions, (and, if not wholly roofed, yet capable of sheltering the fire which at all times glowed within its walls) in the midst of an ample space, so enclosed that the consecrated ground was separated from the profane. I have below quoted this geographer's words, informing us, that the Persian *Pyratheion* was a vast fence, or rather an enclosed place, in the centre of which stood the altar, and that the Magian priests accumulated on this much ashes, and preserved fire unextinguished(51). ZONARAS having noticed the irruption of HERACLIUS, who penetrated far into Persia; informs us that he destroyed various cities and sacred enclosures, in which fire was worshipped by the inhabitants(52).

(50) Το δε Πυρ αυτοις τίμιον τε ειναι δοκεῖ και αγιωτατον, και τοίνυν εν οικήσεσι τιθεν μηδ' εις τε δηδεν και ανακεκαυμενοις ασβεστον οι μάγοι φυλάττουσι. Agath. Hist. Lib. II. p. 59. (Lugd. Bat. 1594).

(51) Εστι δε και Πυραθεῖα αγρας τινες αξιολογοι. εν δε τουτοις μεσοις βωμοι, εν ω πολλη τε σποδος, και πυρ ασβεστον φυλαττουσιν οι μαγοι. (Strab. lib. xv. p. 848. Basil, 1571).

(52) Ἡράκλειος δε και εις τον ενδοτέρω Περσίδα εισβαλε και τας τε πολεις καθηρει και τα τεμενη του πυρος αυτω εκεινῳ τῶ τιμωμενω παρ' αυτοις συγδιεφθειρε.

(Zonar. Annal. Tom. ii).

Besides the terms employed in these passages to express fire-temples, the Greek writers have used others(36); but it will be sufficient to observe here, that those which imply a spacious and enclosed piece of consecrated ground, seem peculiarly applicable; the propriety of such a description being confirmed by various Oriental manuscripts; and there is reason to believe, that even groves and gardens were sometimes comprehended within the sacred space.

That fire-temples were multiplied to a considerable degree, almost immediately after the changes effected by ZARDEHUSHT in the national form of worship, appears from various authorities. The new edifices dedicated to religion (at least the principal) were sumptuously decorated and richly endowed, not only by GUSHTASP and succeeding monarchs, but by private individuals eminent for piety; and some thought it not sufficient to raise a single altar on which the

(36) Ἱερὸν, Ναὸς, &c. Concerning the word Σηκὸς, which occurs in Strabo's account of the Persian temples, a learned critick in Greek literature and antiquities, Mons. Gail, has declared his opinion that it sometimes appears to be "synonyme d'Hieron (ἱερὸν) *enceinte sacrée*. D'où je conclurois, contre plusieurs savans, que σηκὸς ne "signifie pas toujours exclusivement, sanctuaire d'un temple"; and after further remarks, he adds "ainsi σηκὸς je crois, signifiera en general, mur de separation; "balustrade, et le lieu lui-même ou l'on exposoit les objets du culte".—(Recherches Historiques, &c. Tom. I. p. 197. Paris, 1814). See also in this work some observations on the word τεμενος often synonymous with *hieron*; but Gail is not willing to suppose that it signified "a sacred grove," notwithstanding very high authority: for Larcher (in his translation of Herodotus, Tome IV. p. 387) says, "Le *temenos* est "proprement *une piece de terre consacreé a un Dieu*. Quelquefois ce terme se prend "dans un sens plus etendu pour *un temple*; et quelquefois il signifie *un bois sacré*."

sacred flame might blaze in honour of God. Prince ISFENDIAR who long pursued, then combated, and at length slew ARJASP, the inveterate enemy of his house and faith, had previously made a solemn vow, that, if victorious, he would erect throughout the world, an hundred new fire-temples(57).

Thus, many centuries after, ARDESHIR (the Artaxares or Artaxerxes of Greek and Latin historians; a warlike chief who claimed descent from Prince ISFENDIAR; and, about the year 229 of our era, founded the Sassanidan or Sassanian dynasty); made a vow to God, "that in every "place where he should prove victorious over his enemies, "he would build a City and Fire-temple, for the honour "and exaltation of his religion."(58) This anecdote is pre-

(57) His words, according to FIRDAUSI's *Shah-namah*, were بگیتي صد انشکده نو کنم and, as if taught by the beneficent spirit of ZARDHUSHT's doctrines, that useful works would please him who bestows victory, he further vows to construct in the desert a hundred places of repose for wearied travellers; to sink a hundred thousand wells that might yield them water; and about each well to plant numerous trees under which they might find a shade:

مگر دربیابان کنم صد رباط
کنم چاه اب اندر ان صد هزار
نشانم بهر چاه بسیار دار

The importance of such works will be duly estimated by those who, in an eastern desert, have panted with heat and thirst. I shall not stop to notice some various readings in the last-quoted Persian line, which is here printed from my two best copies of the *Shah-namah*. Respecting the word *dar*, as used in this passage, see page 43.

(58) که درهر موقف و موضع که بر دشمن مظفر و منصور شود و ایشانرا خاسر و مقهور گرداند شهري واتش کده جهت تعظیم و تبجیل دین خود دران جا سازد

served by EBN HAUKAL; not in that defective manuscript, of which several years ago I published an English translation; but in a very ancient and beautiful copy which has been lately added to my collection; and for the sake of distinction, shall be henceforward quoted as the *Súr al belláu*: a title inscribed on it, though not, perhaps, with propriety(59).

If ARDESHIR, as there is reason to believe, conscientiously fulfilled his vow; the number of Fire-temples must have been considerably augmented throughout all Persia early in the third century: for he not only conquered and slew ARDAVAN (Artabanus) last Monarch of the Arsacidan or Parthian family; but after various battles, extirpated a multitude of petty princes, who seem to have governed with almost regal power and independence, in every great city and district of the empire(60).

(59) See the *Súr al beldán* more particularly described in the account of Eastern Manuscripts prefixed to this Volume.

(60) Of the Persian records few parts are more obscure and perplexed than those relating to a numerous race of Monarchs who reigned from the time of Alexander until ARDESHIR ascended the throne, a period of more than five hundred and fifty years. By TABRI, and the succeeding writers, FAZLALLAH CAZVINI, BENAKETI, MIRKHOND, his son KHONDEMIR, and many others, they are styled ملوك الطوايف *Molúk al tawayef*, "Kings of the Tribes or Nations." Designing to illustrate their history, I once collected many anecdotes from Manuscripts which few Europeans have had an opportunity of consulting; but an Antiquary, especially if an Orientalist, too often indulges in planning literary works so various and extensive, that to the execution of them human life would not be adequate, even though prolonged beyond its usual limits.

But the annals of ARDESHIR's descendants, the Sassanians, most frequently notice those consecrated buildings which served as places of refuge to the persecuted; thus *Azer Gushasp*, wherein KHUSRAU PARVIZ concealed himself as before mentioned (p. 424). They were also tranquil retreats for the devout in old age, as might be proved from several manuscripts; one anecdote must here suffice, related by TABRA in his history of that king who began to reign about the year 351, and whose proper *Pahlavi* name VARAHRAN, the Greeks altered into VARABANES, VARANES or BARARANES, and the modern Persians into BAHRAM. Having recounted many circumstances of his life, the historian thus proceeds; "and MIHR NARSI (chief *Vazir* or minister) re-
"quested from BAHRAM permission that he might resign
"his office, saying, many years have passed over me and
"I am become old; now therefore let me retire to a life of
"devotion, and prepare myself for another state in the
"world to come. And he established his sons in the
"service of BAHRAM, and this king granted him the permis-
"sion that he solicited, and he went back to his own
"country (or city); and the name of that district was
"*Ardeshír Khureh*; and there he resided, employing
"himself in religious worship; and he built four villages;
"and in each of these villages he erected a Fire-Temple,
"one for himself and the others for his three sons; and
"in each village he made a garden of considerable size,
"and planted in each garden two thousand young cypress

"trees, and one thousand roots of olive-trees, and one "thousand of palm or date-trees; and he annexed these "gardens to the Fire-Temples as a religious endowment(61)".

In the same district of *Ardeshir Khurch* (at *Jár* or *Gár*, the city now called *Firuzabád,)* a magnificent temple had been constructed in the third century, by ARDESHIR, or Artaxerxes, above celebrated, who founded the Sassanian dynasty, and restored to its original splendour that Fire-worship, which, though it continued the national religion, had languished during the obscure or turbulent reigns of several Arsacidan kings; and considerable remains of this edifice were visible within a few years(62).

ARDESHIR and the princes who succeeded him, appear, like their early predecessors, to have delighted in lavishing

(61) و مهر نرسي از بهرام دستوري خواست که سالي بسيار برامد مرا و پير شدم اکنون عبادت کنم و کار ان جهاني بسازم و پسران خويش را بخدمتي بهرام بپاي کرد و بهرام اورا دستوري داد و بشهر خويش باز شد و نام ان شهر اردشير خوره بود و انجا بنشست و عبادت مي کرد و چهار ده بنا کرد و بهر ديهي از ان اتش‌کده بساخت يکي مرخويشتن را و سه مر پسران را و در هر ديهي باغي بزرکي بناکرد و در هر باغي دو هزار نهال درخت سرو بنشاند و هزار بن زيتون و هزار بن درخت خرما و هر باغي بر اتش خانه وقف کرد—

Such is the text according to my oldest and best copy of TABRI'S manuscript chronicle; one, however, reduces the number of cypress trees to a thousand.

(62) They were examined in the summer of 1811, by Major D'Arcy, who went from *Shirás* to *Firuzabád*, while Mr. Gordon, Major Stone, and I were detached by the Ambassador into different parts of Persia.

on Fire-Temples, and the priests, *Maubads*, *Hirbads*, and others who officiated, not only money but jewels, and various kinds of treasures to great amount. In some lines of the *Shah-namah* which I have taken without particular selection from many similar passages, we read that KHUSRAU (Chosroes) surnamed NUSHIRVAN, proceeded towards the Temple, and "solemnly advancing, offered "up his prayers before the Fire, and recited the praises "of him who had created the world. Every precious article "of gold, and the jewels which he had brought in great "abundance, he delivered to the Treasurer of the Fire; "then distributed gold and silver (coin) among the *Maubads* "or priests; bestowed on them robes and jewels, and "thus they were enriched by his bounty; they then "with prayers, approached the sacred flame"(63).

But those Sassanian kings more especially devoted the treasures obtained from a vanquished foe, as tokens of gratitude to that Being from whom all victory proceeds. Thus BAHRAM, a valiant sovereign before mentioned (page 133) having taken prisoner the Emperor, or *Khacán* of *Chín*, "arrived," says our Poetical Historian "in *Azerbadegán*

(63) نوان پیش آتش ستایش گرفت — جهان آفرین را نیایش گرفت
همه زر و گوهر فزونی که برد — سراسر بگنبور آتش سپرد
پراگند بر موبدان سیم و زر — همان جامه بخشید شان با گهر
همه موبدان زو توانگر شدند — نیایش کنان پیش آذر شدند

"(or Media); himself, his nobles and illustrious "warriors; they performed their devotions before the "*Azer* or sacred fire, while all the priests respectfully "held their hands to their heads. BAHRAM then gave "presents to those who officiated; set out from the Fire "Temple; and proceeded to *Istakhr*, a city in which "consisted the pride and glory of the kings of kings"(64). And here, as FIRDAUSI informs us in some lines, which it is not necessary to quote on this occasion, the monarch "commanded that his attendants, men of the pure faith, "should bring before him the crown which had been worn "by his imperial captive; and he caused the jewels with "which it was studded, to be taken out, and, with the gold, "fixed as ornaments on the walls of the Fire-Temple"(65).

From the passage immediately preceding, it would appear that this circumstance occurred at Persepolis; but TABRI's account of the same transaction fixes the

(64) بیامد سوي انرابادگان
پرستش کنان پیش اذر شدند
پرستندگان را ببخشید چیز
خرامان بیامد بشهر اصطخر

خود و نامداران و ازادگان
همه موبدان دست برسر شدند
و زاتشکده روي بنهاد نیز
که شاهنشهان را بدو بود فخر

MS. Shahnamah.

(65) بفرمود پس تاج خاقان چین
گهرها که بود اندر و ازده
بزر و بکوهر بیاراستند

که پیش اورد مردم پاک دین
بکندند دیوار اتشکده

MS. Shahnamah.

scene unequivocally: "And BAHRAM "says the historian," "returned to his own kingdom, and sat on the royal throne; "and the spoils that he had taken from the *Khacán's* "army, and all his riches that had been found, the rubies, "pearls and every thing else; were by BAHRAM's command "transported to the Fire-Temple of AZERBAIJAN, and "there hung up; for of all Fire-Temples he respected "that the most"(66).

The answer given by ARDESHIR to an epistle filled with threats from ARDAVAN, the Artabanus of our writers, (See p. 132) is recorded by TABRI in this manner. "And ARDESHIR "read the letter and replied; God hath granted to me "this royal crown and throne; he indulges me with victory "over kings; and I entertain the hope that he will also "enable me to conquer thee, that I may take thy head, "and expend thy treasures on the Fire-Temples(67)."

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(66) و بملکي خود باز امد و بر تخت ملک بنشست و هرچه از لشکر خاقان و ز غنیمت او خواسته او یافته بودند از یاقوت و مروارید و هر چیزي بفرمود تا باتش خانه اذربایجان جان بردند و انجا بیاویختند و از همه اتش خانها انرا بزرگ داشت

MS. Tarikh Tabri. One copy, but not the oldest, of four, thus briefly states that,

و ان خواستها که از لشکر ترک یافته بود همه براتش خانها هزینه کرد

"He expended on the Fire-temples all the plunder that he had obtained from the *Turk* or Tartar army".

(67) و اردشیر نامه برخواند و جواب کرد که مرا این تاج و تخت خداي داد و بر ملکان ظفر داد و امید دارم که بر تو نیز ظفر دهد تا سرتو برگیرم و گنج تو بر اتش خانه صرف کنم

MS. Tarikh Tabri.

One of these he soon after furnished with incontestable proofs of victory; for having slain the petty princes who opposed him and "multitudes of people at *Marv*; he "sent their heads to *Pars* that they might be fixed on "stakes over the gate of the Fire-Temple at *Istakhr*, or "Persepolis(68)."

That the sacred edifices of Persia were open to women, we learn from Eastern authors, who might, perhaps, be useful in illustrating some passages of Greek and Roman historians, concerning Aspasia or Milto, the beautcous favourite of Artaxerxes Mnemon; and her appointment as Priestess of the Sun; or of Diana *Aneïtis*; or of Venus *Anaheid* (اناهید). But this chapter, in itself a digression, must not be unreasonably extended; I shall resume the subject in my account of Persepolis; where, as manuscript chronicles inform us, the celebrated queen HUMAI devoted her last years to religious seclusion, having placed on the royal throne her son DARAB, father of DARA, the unfortunate Darius of our writers; but other accounts relate that she closed her life in the fire-temple of *Azerbijan*(69).

(68) و بمرو خلقي بسيار بكشت و سرها بپارس فرستاد تا بر در اتش خانه اصطخر بدار كردند

(69) و باتشخانه اذربيجان معتكف كرديد See the MS. *Tarikh Kipchak Khani*, (تاريخ قبچاق خاني) and other historical works.

A second illustrious queen appears, though not as a voluntary inmate, in one of those consecrated buildings. TABRI's words are these; "And KHATUN-E-BUZURG, the *great lady*, "or principal wife of the Turkish or Scythian monarch, had "fallen a captive into the hands of BAHRAM; and he sent "her that she might attend as a menial servant in the "fire-temple of *Azerbaijan*"(70). It will be sufficient to notice here one other female whom we find in the *Azer-gushasp*, that fire-temple before mentioned, (p. 124) a willing convert from idolatry. This young disciple of the *Din-i-beh* or "excellent "religion," was SEPINUD, whom BAHRAM selected among the loveliest princesses of India. Having led her before the sacred fire, he instructed his blooming bride, says FIRDAUSI, in the doctrines and ceremonies of ZARDEHUSHT's faith(71). It would perhaps, be rash to affirm, however possible the circumstance, that this SEPINUD is the queen represented on medals of BAHRAM: the obverse exhibiting her profile close to that king's head, whilst on the reverse we behold her stand-

(70) و زن خاقان خاتون بزرگ بود اسیر افتاده بود بدست بهرام اورا بفرستاد تا خادمي آتش خانه آذربایجان کند

It would be contrary to the institutions of ZERATUSHT, and inconsistent with the chaste practice of his disciples, to suppose that the female attendants of a Fire-temple were subservient to the pleasures of its priests, like those *Dera-dasi* "servants or slaves of the Gods," those singing and dancing girls who in India are consecrated to the worship of Idols, while they administer to the voluptuous gratifications of the Brahmans. See accounts of that country by various travellers, particularly the most recent (1817) by the Abbe Dubois, p. 401.

(71) سپینودرا پیش او برد شاه بیاموختش دین و آیین و راه

ing near the Zoroastrian flame which she and BAHRAM, an altar being between them, seem to regard with veneration, perhaps nourishing it with fragrant or costly substances(72). On the numerous coins of other Sassanian kings which I have examined, the Fire-altar is merely guarded by two armed men, one on each side like those figures which our heralds entitle the supporters.

In hastily tracing this slight and imperfect sketch of Fire-worshippers, I have chiefly derived my Eastern authorities from those valuable manuscript works, 'TABRI's "*Great* "*Chronicle,*" and FIRDAUSI's "*Book of Kings;*" both composed at a time when the sacred fire still glowed in many parts of *Irán*; while its votaries were numerous, and preserved, besides oral traditions, various written records of their ancestors. But other manuscripts in my own collection, nearly as old as the two abovenamed, furnished on

(72) See the engraving of a golden medal preserved in the *Cabinet du Roi*, at Paris, published by Pellerin in the third supplement to his "Receuil des Medailles," (pl. 2), and copied in my "Observations on Medals and Gems, &c." where I have deciphered its *Pahlavi* legend, (Sect. 2), and delineated also a silver coin bearing the same device and characters, belonging to Hunter's collection, and engraved in Mr. Pinkerton's "Essay on Medals." Another of this class I saw in Mr. Knight's admirable Cabinet, it is of silver. What BAHRAM holds does not distinctly appear on those medals; but FIRDAUSI describes him as grasping the *barsom*, (برسم) (small twigs or branches of a certain tree, used in religious ceremonies), when proceeding to the Fire-altar with his beautiful SEPINUD. On a former occasion, that poet informs us, BAHRAM had thrown musk on the sacred flame; and we also learn from the *Shahnamah*, that king GUSHTASP, (Hystaspes), had fed it with *oud hindi* (عود هندي), or odoriferous wood of the Indian aloes: nay, that CAI KHUSRAU, the great Cyrus, had scattered jewels on the fire which glowed in one of his northern temples.

this subject, many interesting anecdotes, which a future Essay shall offer to the reader. Meanwhile, that *Statues* were not worshipped by the Persians in early ages, we learn from a partial reference already made (page 104), to the account of their religious rites given by Herodotus; most venerable as the "father of history," although so many writers besides Plutarch, Dion Chrysostom, and Lucian have impeached his veracity(73). But when he tells us, that the Persians were not accustomed to erect *Temples*, nor *Altars*, an assertion which Strabo copies(74), yet in some places appears to contradict, we must suppose a few exceptions; and interpret his words like the learned

(73) See Plut. de Herodot. Malign.—Dion. Chrysost. Orat. xxxvii—Lucian. Verar. Hist. Lib. 2. et Philopseud. &c. Among the modern censurers of Herodotus, there is one who has not hesitated to style him the *Father of Fables;* "Sed hæc "fabulæ Herodotianæ sunt, quibus ut pater fabularum abundat." Vide Ruderi not: in Q. Curt. Lib iv. c. 7. (edit. Snakenb. p. 214.) Some would apply peculiarly to Herodotus that well-known passage of Juvenal (Sat. x. l. 174.) which charges the Greek writers in general with a bold deviation from historick truth:

——————"Et quicquid Græcia mendax
"audet in historia."

See La Mothe le Vayer (Des anc. et princip Historiens, p. 6. Paris, 1646). He adds, that in the opinion of a learned critick, the tales related by *Herodotus* had given origin to a French word. "Et Casaubon mesmes a creu que les contes "d Herodote avoient fait inventer à ses calomniateurs notre verbe *radoter*."

(74) The whole passage in which Herodotus declares that it was not customary among the Persians to erect statues, temples or altars; I shall here quote, having before alluded to it partially.—Ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ τεύχεσθαι ἱδρύεσθαι.—(Lib. I. c. 131). They sacrificed, adds he, on high mountains "The "Persians neither erect statues nor altars," says Strabo, "but sacrifice in a high place." Ἱέρεια τοίνυν ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἱδρύονται, θύουσι δὲ ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ.—Geogr. Lib. xv).

Stanley, Hyde, D'Hancarville and others(73); thus reconciling his authority to the oldest Oriental testimonies, which amply justify us in believing that the Persians preserved Fire in temples long before the time of ZERATUSHT; although this circumstance is denied by an ingenious writer of the present day; with whose opinions, I regret to acknowledge, mine do not often coincide on points of antiquarian investigation.

That after Zoroaster, Fire-temples abounded in Persia, no one has disputed. The names and situations of many, besides those to which I have alluded in the preceding pages, might be here mentioned; but this digression is already protracted far beyond the limits originally intended. During the first ages of Mohammedan domination in that country, it was probably thought dangerous to excite the

(73) "As concerning their religious rites, Herodotus and Strabo affirm that they "had no Temples, &c." "But Strabo frequently elsewhere mentions their temples "altars and images; whence it may be argued either that in the time of Herodotus "they had not any, and that Strabo in affirming the same with *Herodotus*, is to be "understood only of their primitive institution, which, when the Macedonians after-"wards conquered them, became corrupted with Grecian rites; or, that there were "different sects among them from the beginning, whereof some allowed altars, images, "temples; others disallowed them." (See Stanley's, "Chaldaick Philosophy; Part xvii, chap 3). The confusion in Strabo's account is noticed by Dr. Hyde, who positively affirms that the Persians had temples when Herodotus wrote; but thinks it possible that this historian alluded to the ancient Sabians. (Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers. cap. iii. p. 88, 97. edit. 1700). D'Hancarville having quoted Herodotus, and referred to Strabo, declares, nevertheless, that the Persians before Zoroaster, had temples and altars; that there were different sects of Magians, &c. (Recherches sur les Arts de la Grèce. Supplem. Tome II. p. 118).

religious animosity of a whole nation by persecution too violent or universal. We accordingly find that in the tenth century of our era, when EBN HAUKAL visited *Pars*, there was not "any district of that province, nor any village "without a Fire-Temple(76)." Such are his words according to the faulty manuscript, from which, in the year 1800, I translated that traveller's work. But in the fine and ancient copy, since obtained through the kindness of a friend, and distinguished as above noticed, by the title of *Súr al beldán*, (See page 132), this passage is much amplified. "The Fire-"temples of *Pars*," says EBN HAUKAL, "are more than can "be comprehended within the bounds of enumeration; for "there is not even a village, nor a hamlet, forsooth, without "many fire-temples." But, continues the *Muselmán* author, endeavouring to console himself for such an evil, by pious resignation, "the will of God be done!(77)." He further informs us, (after three pages), that "in this province the "*Gabrs* most abound; and of their Fire Temples, some are "greater and more esteemed than others(78)."

(76) "Oriental Geography of Eben Haukal." p. 95.

(77) آتش خانها پارس از آن بیشترست که در حدوحد محصور و مقصور تواند بود اما هیچ دیهی و روستایی نباشد الا که در آن البته آتش خانها بسیار باشد الا ما شا الله

(78) و بیشتر در آنها کبر می باشند و ازین آتش کدها خانها چند دست که آنرا از دیگران تعظیم و توقیر بیشتر می دارند

Yet, in his time, however numerous those edifices, we find that the work of demolition had commenced; and that the *Behdins* continued to emigrate from their native country to *Hindustán*; where, secure from Mohammedan oppression, they adored God after the manner of their forefathers; and obtained that highly honourable character which their descendants still enjoy.

It appears that about the year 766, Persia having been a prey to the ferocious Arabs above one century and a half(*), various families of Fire-worshippers who had retreated to *Hormuz*, embarked there for the coast of India, and landed first at *Diu* in *Gujerát*; whence they soon after extended their establishments in successive ramifications, to *Sanján*, and *Cambay*; to *Baroach*, *Nausari*, and *Daman*, places near *Surat*; and in process of time to *Bombay*.

Of these modern *Behdins* or *Parsís*, the religious and civil usages have been most faithfully and minutely described by one to whom I shall here pay the due tribute of my praise, a writer whose name has already occurred in many passages of this work; that accomplished Frenchman, M. Anquetil du Perron, who, as Sir William Jones observes, "had the merit of undertaking "a voyage to India, in his earliest youth, with no other

(*) See "Zendavesta."—Tome 1. Disc. Prelim. p. ccexviii.

"view than to recover the writings of ZERATUSHT; and "who would have acquired a brilliant reputation, if he "had not sullied it by his immoderate vanity and viru- "lence of temper"(80). But let his personal foibles be forgotten; he has left an imperishable monument of ingenuity and erudition in many works, more especially the *Zendavesta*, so often quoted throughout this chapter and so indispensably necessary in illustrating the religious and philological antiquities of the Persians(81).

(80) "Discourse on the Persians," Asiat. Res. Vol II. p. 53, (oct. ed). In other passages he acknowledges the importance of M. Anquetil's *Zend* and *Pahlavi* vocabularies. Sir William Jones, as President of the Asiatick Society at Calcutta, where by actual conversation with native Arabs and Persians, he had improved that knowledge of their languages, acquired in so wonderful a manner at home; and where he had lived during three years, on terms of intimacy with BAHMAN, whom he styles "a learned follower of ZERATUSHT," (Asiat. Res. Vol. II. p. 50. oct.) might by those passages, (1789), make some amends for the extreme asperity of his French letter, addressed in 1771, to M. Anquetil; an asperity, perhaps caused by patriotick or academick spirit. If I could possibly wish to cancel any portion of Sir William Jones's writings, it should be this letter. Some strictures on the *Zendavesta*, were published by Richardson, in the "Dissertation," prefixed to his Dictionary, (1777); but they are in general such as scarcely merit a serious confutation. Indeed it is evident that he knew little, (perhaps nothing) of the ancient Persian; and his skill even in the modern may be reasonably suspected. Though surrounded with Eastern manuscripts at Oxford, he does not appear to have derived information from any original source. Yet to the mere English student of Arabick and modern Persian, his Dictionary will prove highly useful: having been laboriously compiled from the Lexicographical works, already printed, of Golius, Meninski, Castel, Father Angelo, and others.

(81) After his translation of the works attributed to Zoroaster, M. Anquetil has given in the *Zendavesta*, (Tome II), short vocabularies, *Zend*, *Pahlavi*, and French. But whether that great Dictionary, of which he announced the design was ever completed,

But a favourite subject must not any longer interrupt the narrative of my travels. I shall hereafter trace the persecutions which Zoroaster's disciples underwent through more than eleven centuries, especially during the sanguinary visitation of that barbarian TAIMUR, and the reign of that bigot, SHAH HUSAIN; until the year 1811, when, in Persia, I conversed with some of this unfortunate and interesting race.

I have not been able to learn; "Mon dessein est de former un Dictionaire de tous les "mots *Zends* et *Pehlvis* qui sont dans les livres anciens et modernes des Parses." (ib. p. 423). With this Dictionary of the oldest Persian dialects, he purposed to give philological Essays and Grammatical rules. If, according to report, M. Anquetil's papers, are, by his own bequest, in the hands of M. le Baron de Sacy, a celebrated Orientalist, than whom none could be found better qualified to employ such precious materials, there is yet a hope that our researches in Eastern antiquities, (for more than Persian are concerned), may be facilitated by the publication of a copious *Zend* and *Pahlavi* Dictionary.

CHAPTER IV.

From Bombay to the Persian Gulf and Bushehr.

ABOUT noon on the thirtieth of January (1811), Sir Gore Ouseley, and the various members of our embassy, proceeded from the Government-house of Bombay to the beach, whither many gentlemen belonging to the local establishments, civil and military, accompanied us. Having taken leave of those hospitable friends, we were soon conveyed to the Lion, receiving as our boats moved off, the compliment of a grand salute. We immediately weighed anchor; no longer in company with the Chichester which remained at Bombay; but having as our consort, a heavy-sailing Arabian *Ghrâb*. This, after a few hours, it was found expedient to take in tow: a circumstance which retarded the Lion's progress, and caused in the smaller vessel, when violently dragged through opposing waves, a

movement which the passengers described as singularly unpleasant(1).

February 7. The wind had hitherto been high and not always favourable; the sea extremely rough; Fahrenheit's thermometer from 68 to 73. Our voyage afforded now but little worthy of notice, for land was not within sight. My journal, however, mentions that I began at this time to transcribe the *Tohfet al'aulum*; an event only claiming commemoration here, as it introduces to the reader's acquaintance a very rare and valuable manuscript, from which, respecting Persia, I derived much information both geographical and antiquarian(2).

(1) The *Ghrâb* (غراب) carried stores belonging to the Embassy, and some articles intended as presents for the King of Persia. Among the passengers were Lieutenant Livingstone, Cornet Willock, and Surgeon Sharp, from Bombay; whence also Miss Mackintosh, daughter of Sir James, accompanied us in the Lion. This young lady was soon after married at Baghdad to Sir William Wiseman, Baronet.

(2) The *Tohfet al aulum* (تحفة العالم) I borrowed from my fellow-passenger MIRZA ABU'L HASSAN, the Persian Envoy, to whom it had been given by MOHAMMED ALI KHAN, محمد علي خان a native of *Shúster*, but resident at Bombay, where I enjoyed some pleasant hours in his company. With the author, ABD AL LATIF BEN ABI TALEB, عبد اللطيف بن ابي طالب he had lived in habits of fraternal intimacy; and described him as a man of considerable talents and learning; one who, by travelling, had divested himself of prejudices and enlarged his knowledge of the world. That he was fond of historical researches, and in some respects merited the title of antiquary is evinced by his book, and will appear from various extracts in my future "*Persian Geography*," especially on the subject of *Khuzistan*, (خوزستان) or Susiana, the province which gave him birth, and one with which Europeans are but imperfectly acquainted. ABD-AL-LATIF had resided latterly in India, and died there about the year 1805.

8. At an early hour this morning we saw Cape *Monze* in *Sind;* and on the tenth were but three or four leagues from Cape *Arabah* or *Aruba*, of which I made a sketch, (Plate VI. No. 4.) Beyond, were visible the distant mountains of *Makrán*(3). A little farther we saw some extraordinay rocks of that kind by sailors styled *Hummocks*, and seemingly insulated; but our pilot, well experieneed in this track, assured me that they formed part of the coast, and that no vessel could pass between them and the hills of *Makran;* which, however uninviting their appearance, I

(3) *Makrán*, (مکران) a province of the Persian empire, and by the Greeks called Gedrosia, or Gadrosia, borders on (سند) *Sind;* and, according to the best and latest accounts, Cape *Monze* terminates a range of mountains that form the boundary between Persia and India. See particularly the map annexed to Mr. Pottinger's "Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde," (4to. Lond. 1816). Some have supposed those regions to be more naturally divided by the great river Indus; thus extending the territories of *Irán* considerably eastward. *Sind*, however, is by most oriental authors, assigned to Hindustán. Yet in the phrase *Hind u Sind*, (هند و سند) which frequently occurs, something antithetical may be insinuated, implying a distinction: for to me at least, D'Herbelot's explanation is not altogether satisfactory; (See Bibl. Orient. in *Hend*). Whether *Sind*, Westward of the Indus, belongs properly to Persia or India, is perhaps as doubtful a circumstance as the appropriation of Egypt to Asia, or Africa; a subject on which the ancient Geographers did not agree. It may be here mentioned that Rennell, (Mem. of a Map of Hindoostan, p. 182, (sec. edit). and Pottinger, (See his "Travels," above quoted, p. 380). notice the striking resemblance between *Sind* and *Eygpt*; the level plain of each, the noble river annually overflowing and fertilizing the soil to a certain distance on both sides, and the sandy desert and range of mountains on right and left. Strabo (Geogr. Lib. XV), and Arrian, (Hist. Ind. c. 2.) compare the *Delta* of the River Indus to that formed by the Nile; and both, after Eratosthenes, declare India limited by the Indus westward. Yet in this direction our modern *Sind* extends considerably beyond the river; whilst, as I before remarked, it is generally assigned to *Hinduttán* by the Eastern writers.

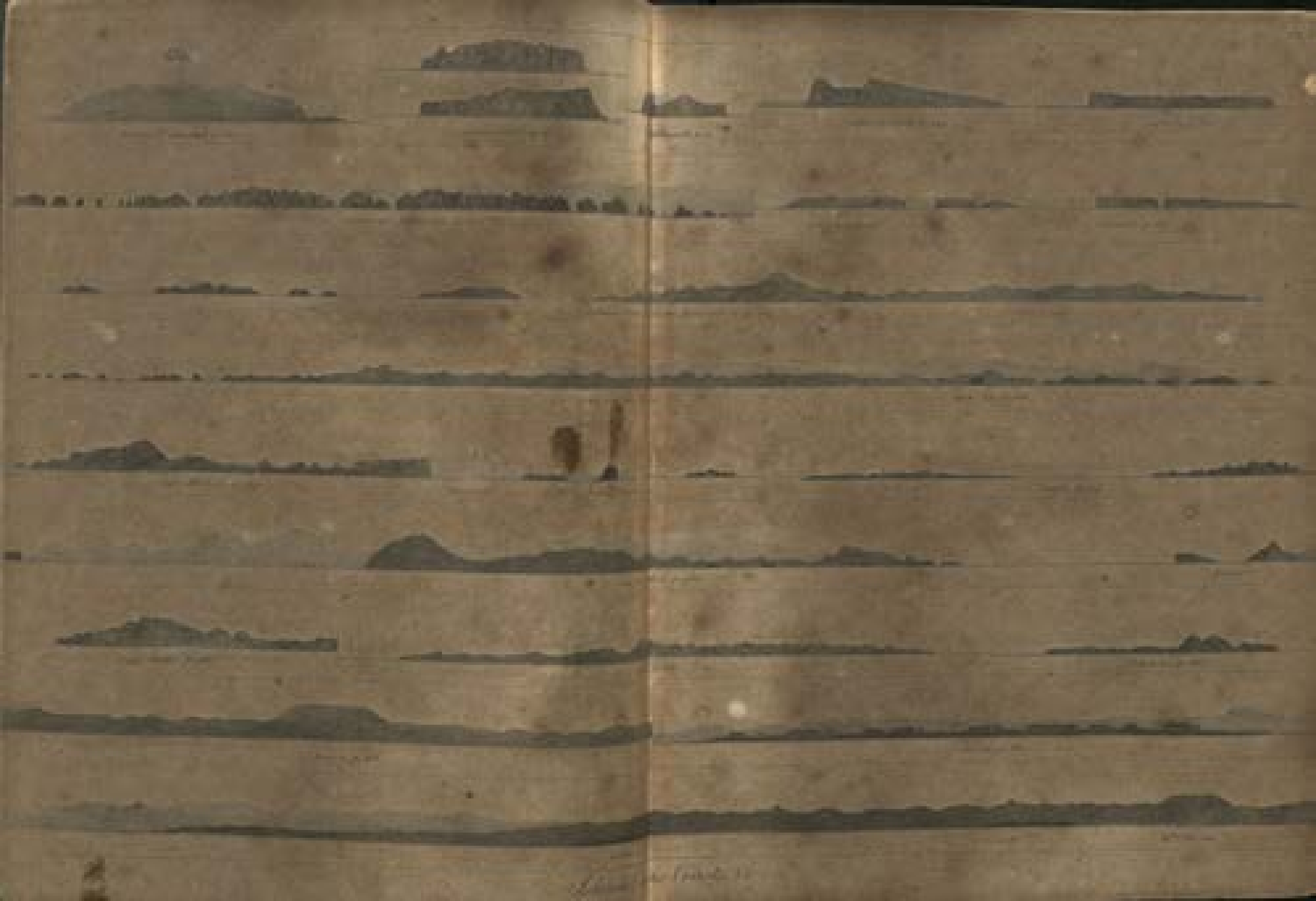
resolved to delineate, (See Plate VI. No. 5). as our course had now assumed a character of classical interest; being that which Nearchus took, three hundred and twenty six years before Christ, when he conducted Alexander's fleet through the Erythrean Sea and Persian Gulf, from the river Indus to the Euphrates(4).

We next discerned *Ashtola* island, (Plate VI. No. 6). remarkable for its tortoises or turtles; near it were many *thresher* fishes of great bulk, tumbling and splashing up the sea(5). The coast of *Makrán* was in sight; we passed Cape *Pasence* or *Possme*, (Plate VI. No. 7), and on the eleventh, Cape *Guadel*, (Plate VI. No. 8).

Some miles beyond this, not far from the place called, I believe, "Muddy Peak," a very extraordinary head-land was

(4) Of this ancient navigation, Dr. Vincent, the late amiable and learned Dean of Westminster, has ably illustrated the particulars in his "Voyage of Nearchus;" this Greek admiral's journal being preserved by Arrian; (Hist. Ind). To Dr Vincent's work, which proved a very useful and pleasing companion while I followed the course of Nearchus, occasional references must be made during this chapter; but it will generally suffice to indicate the page, since he has left little for others to perform in the classical department concerning this celebrated voyage; although something may be added to his remarks from personal observation and Eastern manuscripts.

(5) The Greek sailors who accompanied Nearchus in his navigation of these seas, were terrified by the appearance of *Whales*, (κήτεα, Arrian. Hist. Ind. cap. 30); and Mr. Goodridge the pilot, informed me, that he had seen many *Grampuses* of thirty feet long, near the Gulf's mouth. Also at *Muscat*, where they frequently overset canoes, he was in the Mornington cruiser at a time when the officers prepared to direct a cannon against one of those marine monsters, which continued close to them for about a minute with its head above the water.



presented to our view, and its first rude aspect I have attempted to delineate, (in Plate VII. No. 1); but after three or four hours, the sun shining on some prominent parts, while the fissures and hollows continued in a certain degree shaded, this rugged work of nature began to wear an artificial form; the head-land seemed to become a stupendous pile of building; and it required but a slight exertion of fancy to discover, as we sailed along, castles, palaces or temples, of strange and irregular architecture, (See Plate VII. No. 2). A similar illusion has been elsewhere observed; and it is not improbable that of many places found only in maps or books, the imaginary existence might be traced to appearances equally fallacious(*).

On the twelfth there was heavy rain; the day very dark; much thunder and lightning at night. The North West wind blew with great force early on the thirteenth, but abated at noon, when we were in lat. 25. 12. the

(*) Of a similar deception the effects remarked on this coast in 1808, by Mr. Morier, were unreal towns, villages and Gothic ruins, as that observant and ingenious traveller has informed us, (Journey through Persia, &c. p. 4 and 5). And such illusions occur not only on the sea shore, but in the interior of various countries, as I shall have occasion to notice from my own observation, and might prove from the testimonies of many others. But one will here suffice, extracted from the account of Mungo Park's last Journey in Africa. "June 24, (1805), Left *Sulle* and travelled through a "country, beautiful beyond imagination; with all the possible diversities of rock; "sometimes towering up like ruined castles, spires, pyramids, &c. We passed one "place so like a ruined Gothic abbey, that we halted a little before we could satisfy "ourselves that the niches, windows, ruined stair-case, &c. were all natural rock. "A faithful description of this place would certainly be deemed a fiction."—(P. 75, 4to. 1816).

coast of *Makran*, its high hills and rocks visible on our right; Cape *Jask*, being distant about seven or eight leagues(*).

Soon after two o'clock a partial line of *green* water (such as generally indicates shallows, and perfectly different from the *blue* of a deep sea) was perceived, extending considerably. It appeared at first, to be two or three miles before us; and was, probably, eight or nine from land. The navigating master did not suppose that it was occasioned by a shoal; but ascribed it, rather, to the late fall of rain; some thought it the effect of tides, or feared that we had approached a sand-bank; and the pilot acknowledged that many parts of this coast were but little known, as vessels inclined mostly to the opposite Arabian shore. Our ship, therefore, was put about. We then sounded, and were relieved from any apprehension by finding the depth to be sixty-three fathoms. Towards evening we sailed directly into the line of green water; and so strongly and suddenly was it distinguished from the blue surface which we had left that, as a passenger remarked, the Lion must have been

(*) See Dr. Vincent's "Voyage of Nearchus," p. 198. (second edition, 1807), for Cape *Monze* above mentioned, the Eiras of Arrian. For Cape *Arabah*, or *Arrubah*, p. 205, 217. For *Ashtola* island, the ancient Carmine, p. 240. For Cape *Passenee* or *Posmee*, Arrian's Mosarna, p. 242. For Cape *Guadel*, p. 248, 250, 254. And for Cape *Jask*, the ancient Badis or Carpella, p. 276, et seq.

Headland near Muddy Creek. 1st View p. 121

Gilbert's View p. 180

Virgin p. 124

Hillsborough p. 180

Encampment p. 180

Bernhill p. 180

at one moment, floating in a sea of two different colours. Here we again sounded, but could not find bottom at less than seventy-nine fathoms. Had this phænomenon been peculiar to the Persian Gulf, not far from the entrance of which we observed it; the epithet *green*, bestowed on that branch of the ocean by Eastern Geographers, would seem more applicable than many terms used in the description of other seas(*).

14. At nine o'clock this morning the coast was faintly visible on both sides. At ten we could no longer discern the Persian hills; but some high lands in Arabia, supposed to be near *Dobba*, distinctly formed the horizon on our left.

15. An Arab vessel, belonging to the *Imám* of *Mascat*, from *Bahrein*, confirmed what had been reported at Bombay: that a fleet of *Juasmes* infested the Persian Gulf,

(*) "Nothing is more striking," says a celebrated traveller, "than the rapid changes "which the sea undergoes beneath a serene sky, where no variations whatever are to "be perceived in the atmosphere. I do not here speak of the whitish and milky tint "that marks the waters of shoals and in soundings, which is owing only to the sand "suspended in the liquid, since it is perceived in places, where the bottom in "twenty or thirty fathoms, is no way visible. I speak of those extraordinary changes, "by which, in the midst of the vast basin of the equinoctial ocean, the water passes "from indigo blue to the deepest green, and from this to a slate grey, without any "apparent influence from the azure of the sky or the colour of the clouds." 'Humboldt's "Personal Narrative of Travels" &c. translated by H. M. Williams. Vol. II. 107. Niebuhr, between Bombay and *Abushahr*, remarked strange alterations in the sea, which once appeared white, like a plain of snow; at another time fiery, &c. *Voy. en Arab.* T. II. p. 71. (Amst. 1780).

where depredations were every day committed by those atrocious pirates, equally expert in boarding ships, as cruel in murdering their crews(9). Our progress, latterly, was much retarded by contrary winds and by calms. The sixteenth found us still near Cape *Muksa*, of which the whitish cliffs had called England to our recollection three days before (Plate VI. No. 11); and on the seventeenth, we perceived the heights about Cape *Musseldom*(10), in Arabia, (Plate VI. No. 9), being at the same time not far from the rocks called *Kuh Mubárek*(11) and "Ass's Ears" on the coast of *Kirman* or Carmania. (See Plate VI. No. 12).

18. Having entered the Straits, we this morning enjoyed a distant view of *Hormuz*, which has imparted to them its name; and nearly at the same time, we saw *Larek* and *Kishm*. Of these three islands the first was denominated

(9) *Juasm* or *Juathem* (جواثم) an Arabian tribe, said to be of the *Wehábi* sect.

(10) So our sailors generally call that which Niebuhr writes راس مسندم *Rás Musséndem*, "the *Ras*, (or Cape) of *Musendom*." (Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 295. Copenh. 1773). This is the *Cap de Monsandon* of Le Brun, (Voyages, &c. p. 375. Amst. 1718), and *Mama Selmah*, مامة سلمة, as the Arabians and Persians are said to call it.

(11) The extraordinary *rock* which our sailors corruptly call *Bombareek*, is dignified with the lofty title of *Kuh mubarek* "the fortunate or auspicious *mountain*;" and expressed in proper characters کوه مبارک as it was written by an intelligent Persian to whom I had mentioned my doubts concerning Pietro della Valle's *Com barik*, which he explains "cioè rena minuta," as signifying minute or fine-grained sand. Viaggi. (Lett. 1. da Surat. 22. Marz. 1623).

from a place on the neighbouring continent in Carmania; the *Harmozia* and *Armuza* or *Harmozusa* of Greek writers(12); where Nearchus landed and found one of his countrymen wandering from Alexander's camp, in which, some days after, the admiral was received with such well-merited honours by his sovereign(13). But in that conqueror's time, the insulated *Hormuz* bore a very different name; if, like many criticks, we suppose it to be the *Organa* of Arrian and Ptolemy(14); and *Tyrina*, as the printed editions of Strabo represent it. This, however, we are authorized to read *Gyrina*, adopting a correction suggested by Vossius(15): who might have observed that in Ptolemy's Geography, *Tabris* (the modern *Tabriz*) is written *Gabris*: the Greek letter *tau* τ, imperfectly described, becoming a γ, *gamma*.

It is probable, notwithstanding high authority against such an opinion, that both *Organa* and *Gyrina* express, though with a transposition of letters very frequent in

(12) Ἁρμόζεια of Arrian. Ἁρμοῦζα of Ptolemy, and Ἁρμόζουσα of Marcian the Heracleot.

(13) Arrian. Hist. Indic. 35. 36.

(14) Ὀργάνα.—Arrian Hist. Ind. 37.—Ptolem. Geogr. Lib. VI. c. 7.

(15) Strabo (Geogr. Lib. XVI) mentions the νῆσον Τυρίνην; "Scribe" says Isaac Vossius "νῆσον Γυρίνην, vel mutatione minima Γυρίνην." Observ. ad Pompon. Melæ Lib. III. c. 8. On this subject the learned Salmasius has offered his remarks; (Plinian. Exercit. p. 831. Traj. ad Rhen. 1689), but "diffusè æque, atque confusè"; as another ingenious commentator observes; Vide Thom. de Pinedo, not. in Gyrid. Stephan. de Urbib. p. 730 (Amst. 1678).

such imitations, the old name of this island; which was *Jarún*, or *Jerún*, as now written, but in the age of Alexander, perhaps *Garún*.(16). From a most excellent manuscript dictionary, we learn that, "*Jarún*, (with the vowel accent *fatchh* on "the first syllable), is the original name of the commer- "cial sea-port *Hormuz*(17)." And that it was more anciently *Garún*, I infer from analogy; the Eastern writers in general, during the the last five or six centuries, affecting after the Arabian manner, to change, almost systematically, the Persian *g* into *j* (18).

(16) Professor Heyne whose criticism on the "Voyage of Nearchus," (derived from the celebrated Heeren) induced Dr. Vincent, as he tells us himself, (Nearch. p. 348, sec. ed). to alter his opinion respecting the identity of Organa with Hormuz, expressed in the first edition of his "Voyage," &c. He latterly regarded *Larek* as corresponding to the ancient Organa. I have never seen the works of those learned Germans, to which he alludes; and cannot adopt their sentiments without further knowledge of their proofs. It would appear from Teixeira, (Relac. de los Reyes de Harmuz, p. 11), that an old man named GERUN, and his wife, (un viejo llamado Gerun con su muger), were the sole inhabitants of that barren island, since called *Hormuz*, when the first colony of Persians settled there about the year 1302. I am inclined to suppose that the man was surnamed from the island; and EBN HAUKAL, (in the tenth century), mentions *Jarún*, among the sea ports of Kirman, according to the modern MS. from which his "Oriental Geography," was translated, (see p. 138). But I must acknowledge that *Jarún* does not occur in the more ancient and accurately written copy of that work, the *Súr al beldán*.

(17) جرون بفتح اول—نام اصلي بندر هرموز ست

Vide *Berhán Kattea*, in voce.

(18) The Arabick alphabet wanting that letter *(gaf)* pronounced by Persians like our *g* in *gag*, *gargle*, *grand* &c. (or like the Greek *gamma*); the earliest Oriental geographers who were principally Arabians, substituted for it the *j*; and so servilely have their works been copied, or translated by the Persians, that few proper names

From the natural barrenness of this island, and the epithets applied to it by Arrian, we may doubt whether *Organa* was inhabited at an early period(19). HAMDALLAH CAZVINI mentions that his contemporary, (in the fourteenth century), KUTTUB AD' DIN, king of the continental *Hormuz*, was induced by circumstances of danger, "to abandon that territory and establish himself in a city which he built in the island of *Jarún, in the Sea*, and distant from old *Hormuz* one farsang"(20). But a later author ascribes the dereliction of *Hormuz* to "king FAKHR AD' DIN, who in the year 715 "(of the Mohammedan era ; or 1315 of Christ) forsook that "place and laid the foundation of a city which he completed,

are found written, in this respect, according to the original orthography. But some MS. Dictionaries enable us to recover a multiplicity of the old names; thus we learn from the *Berhan Kattea* that *Andegan* (اندگان) is expressed in the Arabian manner (معرب) *Andjún* (اندجان). We find from the same excellent authority, that *Segistan* سگستان (also written Setstan سیستان) becomes *Sejestan* (سجستان) after the Arabian fashion. *Segarand* becomes *Sejarand*: *Azerpaigán* is changed into *Azerbaijen*, *Zingan* into *Zinjan*, *Gurgán* into *Jurjún*, *Pushang* into *Fushanje*; by this change of *g* into *j* have been formed *Darabjerd*, *Velazjerd*, *Rámjard* (a place near Persepolis where I heard the native peasants pronounce it *Ramgard*), *Firúzjerd*, *Jár*, *Jilan*, and many other names of places and persons, such as *Yezdejerd* &c. Besides proper names, the *Berhan Kattea* indicates various words in which this substitution of *j* for *g* may be discovered ; but the examples here given sufficiently establish a kind of rule to which I may hereafter refer.

(19) He styles it νησον ερημην τε και τραχειαν, an island desert or barren, and rugged. Hist. Indic. c. 37.

(20) ملک قطب الدین انرا بگذاشت و در بحر بجزیره جرون شهر ساخت از هرموز کهنه تا انجا یک فرسنگ است

"in *Jarún*; and this island," adds the historian, "is now called "*Hormuz*; and the *Franks*, or Europeans have possessed it "about one hundred and thirty years (21)."

These were the companions of Alfonzo de Albuquerque who in 1507 took *Hormuz*, after a combat described with much animation by one of his countrymen; a few hundred Portuguese having contended, as he assures us, for eight hours against thirty thousand Persians and Arabians,

(21) و ملک فخر الدین—هرموزرا گذاشت در جزیره جرون طرح شهر انداخت وبا تمام رسانید—واکنون جزیره جرون را هرموز میگویند و فرنگیان قریب صد و سی سالست که بر ان جزیره استیلا یافته اند MS. (*Zeinet al Mejáles*).

The new *Hormuz*, or *Jerún*, is in circumference six or seven miles; and distant from *Dogar*, the nearest place on the Persian continent, five miles; and from the nearest in Arabia nine leagues, according to that excellent traveller before quoted, (p. 40) Teixeira; a Portuguese, who used, however the Spanish tongue. (Relacion de los Reyes de Harmuz, p. 13). Having visited this island in 1604, he confirms Arrian's description, (See note 19); for except an inconsiderable plain, it is, says he "todo sierras "collados, y malezas asperrimas y horribles" (p. 14). But one of the advantages resulting from its insular situation is celebrated in a Persian distich, which Teixeira has thus preserved, (p. 43). "dele Duzman bara man Kabab hast, Ke aguerd Aguerd man dariah hast;" And translates "el coraçon de mi enemigo se abraza, porque "me vé estar cercado de la mar." "The heart of my enemy is burning, because he "perceives that I am surrounded by the Sea." These verses as he relates, were sung throughout the City and island by King *Salgor Xa* (*Salghar Shah*, سلغر شاه) on learning that a hostile prince who ruled the opposite continental territory was indignant because such a rock afforded security to his foe. The Persian words might be thus expressed in their proper characters, and in ours;

دل دشمن بر من کباب دست که گرد اگرد من دریا دست

"*Dil-i dushman ber man kabáb hast*
"*Keh gird a gird-i man deryá hast.*"

and this doggerel may be literally translated, "The enemy's heart is against me "become as roasted meat (*Kabáb*); because all around me is the sea."

valiantly defending a place naturally strong and well fortified by art(22).

Of those Europeans, a Persian manuscript, the *Tarikh Aulum Arái*, (composed in 1616) makes mention, as the company or body *d'ranghkah Portugaliah*; and relates that having by means of bribery and treachery found their way to the island of *Hormuz*, they there constructed a *Kúte*, which word signifies a Fort or Castle(23).

(22) Pedro de Mariz thus describes the battle, and its various effects on men, women and all other living creatures. "Cometeo a cidade, por natureza & arte bellicosis-"ima, defendida no mar & na terra por mais de 30. mil homens de guerra, de naçao "Perseos & Arabios; com os quaes se travou a peleia no mar, com tanto fervor & "valentia de ambas as partes que durou espasso de oito horas, sem se conhecer "melhoria de alguna dellas; porque todos se houverao naquelle conflicto com ardeo-"tissimos animos & com tanta variedade de bellicos instrumentos, que parecia que "todos os elementos erao guerra, & propria destruicao sua; porq. o estrepito horrendo "de artelharia q de quando em quando scintillava; fazia tal mistura de horrenda "confusao, que os homens nao sabiao em que luger estavao; as mulheres prejadas "fazião aborto; & todas as criaturas viventes imaginavao, que se acabava o mundo." See "Dialogos de varia Historia." Lisb. 1672. (or 1674). 4to. p. 336 The inhabitants who, according to this Portuguese author, so bravely defended their country, are described by the traveller Barbosa (in 1616), as a very handsome, fair and well formed race. "Gli habitatori di questa isola e citta sono Persiani e Arabi,—è gente molto "bella e bianca e di buona Statura,"—See Ramusio's Italian Collection of *Viaggi*. Vol. I. p. 203. fol. Ven. 1606.

(23) جماعت فرنكيه برتكاليه—بحيله و تزوير بجزيره هرموز راه يافته كوتك كه عبارت از قلعه است ترتيب داده

Our author thinking it necessary to explain the word *Kút*, shews that in this sense, it is not Persian; and we know that it is not Portuguese. But the MS. dictionary *Berhan Kattea* informs us that it is borrowed from the language of India.

Here, for above a century, they continued to enjoy the luxuries afforded by commercial intercourse the most extensive; such as had rendered this place in 1442, when ABD AR' RIZAK, Ambassador from SHAH RUKH king of Persia, visited it on his way to India, an emporium for the *seven climates* of this world(24); and produced that exuberant opulence on which our Milton has conferred eternal celebrity(25).

(24) See the "Voyage de la Perse dans l'Inde," in M. Langles's "Collection Portative "de Voyages," p. XXIX. This account of *Abd ar'rizak's* mission is extracted from the *Matlea as Saadein*, before noticed in p. 67. Referring to my copy of the original work, (a valuable Persian MS), I find that the author begins his praises of *Jerún* or *Hormuz*, with a verse which might have served for their conclusion,

در روی زمین بدل ندارد

"On the face of the earth it has not its equal." That it was held in this high estimation we have the testimony of Nieuhoff, recorded in Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels. Vol. II. p. 233. (First edit.) Writing in 1602, he says "the "city of Ormus whilst under the jurisdiction of the Portugueses and before the "Persians made themselves masters of it in 1619. was a very stately, rich and magni- "ficent place; of which the inhabitants used to boast, that, "if the world were a ring, "Ormus must be considered as the diamond." For after the Portugueses had conquer- "ed this city, they were very careful in adorning it from time to time with most "magnificent structures, to such a degree that all the irons belonging to their windows "and doors were gilt; and it was the common opinion in those days, that if they "had remained masters of it till now, they would have turned them into massive "gold."

(25) "High on a throne of royal state, which far-
"Out shone *the wealth of Ormus* and of Ind,
"Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
"Showr's on her kings barbaric pearl and gold."
Parad. Lost. B. II.

The finest pearls that decorated the Persian kings, or were *showered* on them when ascending the throne, (according to a very ancient custom), might have been obtained from the sea which forms the southern boundary of their dominions; and the pearls

But early in the seventeenth century, SHAH ABBA's, king of Persia, assisted by the English, obtained possession of this island, and transferred its commerce to *Gombroon*, or *Gamrún*, situate on the continent, and after him styled *Bander Abbasi* (بندر عباسي) or the "Port of king Abbás." From this period *Hormúz* rapidly declined and once more wears an aspect of almost total desolation.

It has, however, so long occupied our attention that a few lines must suffice on the subject of *Larek* and *Kishm*, which, as I before observed, we saw early on

here found were most highly prized, according to Pliny (Nat. Hist. Lib. IX. c. 35). Theophrastus mentions those pearls which some islands in the Erythrean sea (ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ) produce; and Mr. Hill in his notes on that Greek Lithologist (p. 93. Lond. 1746), says "the finest in the world are those of the *Persian Gulf*. There are a great "number found about *Cape Comorin* and the island of *Ceylon*, but they are greatly "inferior to the *Persian*; and very large ones have been found about *Borneo*, *Sumatra* "and the neighbouring islands, but not of the fine shape and water of the Persian." This confirms what Salmasius had before declared. "In sinu Persico majores "reperiuntur quæ et ceteris omnibus candoris ac magnitudinis doti anteferuntur. Inde "Romanis adferebantur." Plin Exercit. p. 824. (ed. 1689). The pearls of this Gulf are celebrated by various Eastern writers among whom I shall only cite HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI. In describing the sea of *Oman*, or of *Fars*, he says,

و از جزیره هرموز تا جزیره بحرین غوص لولو ممکن است اما از اطراف بحرین غوص میکنند و درین مکان لولوچنان بزرگ می باشد که جاديي ديکر نيست و غلبه غوص از قيس است تا خارک و ديکر در نزديک عدن هم غوص لولوخوب شود

"And from the island of *Hormuz* to the island of *Bahrein*, it is possible to procure "pearls by means of divers; but those which they find in diving about *Bahrein*, are "of such magnitude as cannot be equalled elsewhere; and the chief pearl fishery is "from *Keis* to *Kharek*; near *Aden* also, very good pearls may be obtained."

the eighteenth. *Lárek* is supposed by a learned writer to be the *Organa* of Arrian, rather than *Hormuz*, which it nearly equals in size(26). The ingenious Niebuhr has written its name *Laredsch* (لارج), or as we may express it, *Larej*; but by the application of a rule established above, (see note 18), I am induced to suspect that the true orthography, if not *Larek*, would certainly be *Lareg*(27).

Keishm or *Kishm*, the ancient *Oaracta* or *Vorokhtha*, where king Erythras was entombed, retains something of its classical name in *Broct*, or *Vroct*(28); by Arabs it is distinguished as "the long island," *Jezirat touileh*, while by Persians it is styled in the same sense, *Jezirah diráz*(29).

(26) I have before alluded (in note 16) to the altered opinion of Dr. Vincent on the identity of Hormuz and Organa.

(27) لارک Niebuhr informs us that the names of places in this neighbourhood were written for him by a merchant of *Abushahr*; (Descript. de l'Arab. p. 285, Copenh. 1773). In his time (ib. p. 273) almost all the inhabitants of that town were Arabs, as they are at present; and would write accordingly لارج *Larej*. ib. p. 284.

(28) *Broct* written *Queixome*, by the Portuguese. See Teixeira, Relac. de Harmuz p. 9. Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, p. 112. (ed. 1665). The Ὄφακτα of Arrian who mentions that tradition placed there the tomb of Erythras, (Hist. Ind. c. 37). Ptolemy writes Οὐόροχθὰ Lib. VI. c. 8. For *Vroct* See D'Anville, and others.

(29) Niebuhr having mentioned the *Oaracta* of Arrian allows that "cette isle du "golfe Persique est celle que les Arabes nomment *Djezáiret Tauile* les Persans *Djezirat* "*Drás*; et les Europeens *Kischme*." (Descr. de l'Arab. p. 268. Copenh. 1773) The Arabick name is thus written جزيرة طويلة and the Persian as in a passage which I shall quote from the MS. *Aulum arai Abbasi*. جزيرة قشيم كه جزيرة دراز نيز مي نامند "The island of *Kishm*, which is also called *Jezireh diráz*, or "The Long Island." If

An original map now before me, executed in the thirteenth century, represents it as the *Jezirah Láfet*, or "island of *Lafet*;" this name is given in modern times to one of its principal ports(*).

Our entrance into the Persian Gulf would afford an opportunity of filling several pages with extracts from Eastern geographers respecting its extent, its various islands, the towns situate on its shores, its natural productions, and other circumstances. But I shall here notice little more than such places as the course of our voyage brought immediately within my own observation, reserving for a future occasion, what might be entitled the "Periplus" of this celebrated sea; which, like the Greek and Roman authors, we generally denominate the "Persian Gulf," although it appears also among them as the Babylonian sea; and, from that king above mentioned, the Erythrean. This name, however, signifying *red* in Greek, has caused a confusion with that bay

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Niebuhr's words imply that Europeans gave the name of *Keishm* originally to this island, the Persian passage above quoted does not prove him wrong. For the *Aulum Arai* was composed while *Hormuz* still belonged to the Portuguese, and other Europeans frequented the Gulf; nor do I recollect the name in any older Arabick or Persian manuscript. Yet *Kishm*, whatever be its meaning, appears in the quotation, as prior to the longer descriptive name. It is written كشم by ALGHAFARI.

(*) "*Lapht*, Puerto y poblacion en la isla *Broet* que comunmente deziwos los "Portugueses *Queixome*." Teixeira Relac. de Harmuz, p. 9. *Láfet*, or *Láft* لافت (pronounced *Loft*) is in some maps falsely named *Laft*.

more particularly called the "Red Sea"(31). But we find in the works of oriental writers that a very different colour lends its name to the Persian Gulf; for by many it is described as the "Green Sea"(32). The Persian Gulf occurs also in Eastern manuscripts as the sea of *Fars* or *Pars*, of *Oman*, of *Kirman*, of *Bahrein*, of *Katif*, of *Basrah*; deriving these (and other) names from provinces, and remarkable places on its Arabian and Persian coasts.

(31) In Strabo's Geogr. Lib. XV. we find the *Persian Gulf*, Περσικὸς κόλπος; and in Pliny's Nat. Hist. Lib. VI. c. 24. "Sinus Persicus." See also, Ptolem. Geogr. Lib. VI. Priscian. Perieg. l. 607. Pomp. Mel. de situ orb. Lib. III. cap. 8, and others. Ammianus Marcellinus (Lib. XXIII) calls it the *Persian Sea* "Persicum mare." By Dionysius it is styled the *Persian Ocean* in line 1082 of his Periegesis. Ἥκει μὲν παρὰ χεῖμα τὸ Περσικὸν οὐκεανοῖο. Plutarch (in Lucullo) describes it as the *Babylonian sea* speaking of the Arabs who came from its shores ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θαλάσσης Ἄραβες. That it was named the *Erythrean Sea*, Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, after king Erythras, we learn from Arrian, (Hist. Ind. c. 37. See also c. 32) The tomb of Erythras is noticed likewise by Strabo, (Lib. XVI). Pliny, (Nat. Hist. Lib. VI. c. 24). Solinus, (Polyhist. cap. xxxiii), &c. That the Romans called that sea *red* which was entitled *Erythrean* by the Greeks, Pliny informs us; and much elaborate criticism has been employed in endeavours to ascertain whether it derived this name from the king or the colour, and how far this name might be allowed to extend.

(32) Thus SHERIF AL EDRISI, sometimes quoted as the Nubian Geographer, says (in the Introduction to his Arabick work printed at Rome, 1592), الخليج الاخضر و هو بحر فارس "The Green Gulf; and this is the sea of *Fars*, or Persis." Two Arabick treatises before mentioned, (p. 22) which I have ascribed to EBN AL VARDI, (although his name does not appear in the MSS) inform us that the Sea of Fars يسمي البحر الاخضر "is called the Green Sea." But some Eastern Geographers extend this denomination to the extremity of India, where the Sea of *Chin* commences. So the MS. *Ajaeb el beldán*. In this manner Herodotus, (who does not particularly distinguish the Persian Gulf), confounds the Arabian sea and part of the Indian Ocean, under the general name of *red* or *Erythrean*. And Pliny styles the Persian Gulf "a bay of the Red Sea." To the words of these ancient authors I shall refer in another place.

In the Plates, VIII. and IX. and in the Appendix to this volume, the reader will find an exact copy and some explanation of a very extraordinary map of the Persian Sea; one (like that above mentioned) delineated in the thirteenth century, and, with fifteen others, illustrating a most valuable Geographical manuscript. I shall no farther encroach on the plan of my intended "Periplus," than to observe that in this map *Láfet*, through some mistake of the penman or painter, is placed more remote from *Hormuz* than the other two islands, *Awal* and *Kharek*; but the map to which I have before alluded, represents it with greater accuracy, as situate towards the South Eastern boundary of Fars.

While *Hormuz* and *Kishm* were still within our view, (early on the eighteenth) we discovered two sloops, supposed to be part of the pirate fleet. As the Lion was becalmed, Captain Heathcote, Lieutenants Peter and Young, with about fifty men and two twelve-pound carronades in boats, pursued, overtook, and at midnight brought them to the ship. They were full of Arabs, who declared themselves people of *Mascat* on their way to *Bander-Abbasi*(*),

(*) *Gamrún* or *Bander Abbasi* did not long benefit by the fall of *Hormuz*; but appears to have been nearly ruined during the reign of NADIR SHAH whose tyranny extended its baneful influence even to this extremity of the Persian empire; so that in 1750 Mr. Plaisted found there nine houses out of ten deserted. Yet at *Gombroon*, says he, "there had been less oppression, as being at a great distance from the court, "than in other towns which were more exposed by being near it." See "A Journal from Calcutta to Aleppo, &c." p. 11. Lond. 1758. Duod.

and although suspiciously armed with such spears, swords and shields, as are used by *Juasmes*, they produced papers which corroborated this declaration; and many of them were, besides, known to persons in our *Ghrab*; therefore, on the nineteenth, they were liberated and continued their voyage, whilst we proceeded by the *Great Coin*, *Little Coin*, and other rocky islands, having Cape *Musseldom* and the Arabian hills in view; (Plate VI. No. 13). We were mortified to learn soon after, that those Arab vessels did, actually, belong to the piratical fleet of the *Juasmes*(34).

During the twentieth we saw the *Tombs*, (Plate VI; No. 14), and Cape *Sertes* or *Certes*, (Plate VI. No. 15), and fired several shots at a large boat, which after some hours escaped in the dark by means of ours. Of the twenty-first much was spent in a calm off *Polior* (Plate VI. No. 16). On the twenty-second we passed another island, *Nobfleur*, (Plate VI. No. 17), the thermometer varying between 67, and 70. We perceived *Mount Charek* or *Chareg*, (Plate VI. No. 18); and it was still in sight on the twenty-third, when a strong North-west wind rendered the sea very rough, and

(34) To Captain Heathcote I am indebted for an extraordinary shield and sword, purchased by him from one of those Arabs, who told me that the shield was made "out of the skin of a great fish." Its form is represented in the Miscellaneous Plate, and a description annexed.

becoming more violent in the evening, injured one of our sails. The *Ghrab* parted from us, having snapped the hawser or towing-rope; and was at a considerable distance all the twenty-fourth. We were driven so much out of our course, that about six o'clock, it was judged necessary to anchor within two miles of *Keish*, where we remained, in ten fathoms water, discharging at night guns and rockets, and exhibiting blue lights as signals to our friends in the *Ghrab*, for whose safety some apprehensions were entertained(*).

25. Early this morning I made a sketch of *Keish*, (Plate VI. No. 19), which is an island almost flat, and yielding date trees, but not very profusely; among these we could discern a few mean looking buildings. Behind it appeared, the coast of Persia, and over its Eastern extremity *Charek* Mountain. At eleven o'clock the *Ghrab* approached us, and a party of the Lion's crew returned from the shore with a bullock, some sheep and eggs. The officer (Lieutenant Young) who had landed there, informed me that *Keish* afforded excellent water, which was drawn from wells by means of wheels. He saw about an hundred of the inhabitants; they lived in mud-houses; the men seemed shy and suspicious; not, perhaps,

(*) Soon after the commencement of our voyage from Bombay, this vessel and the Lion had been separated in stormy weather; but there was, at that time, little danger to be expected from pirates, and the Arabian Sea afforded ample room.

without reason; for, (if their words and signs were rightly interpreted) some strangers had come there a short time before, and committed many acts of violence. The women evinced a disposition more frank and hospitable; in person they inclined to corpulency, and might be reckoned handsome, were the eyes, which alone could be seen, a just criterion of their other features. Several of them brought their children to Mr. Young; and one even laid her hand upon his arm; but these familiarities were austerely repressed by a grey-bearded *Sheikh*, who compelled the females to retire. Some rice-fields were observed, and the soil appeared capable of more cultivation than it had received(36).

(36) I have mentioned acts of violence recently committed at *Keish*, but trust that they were not like those imputed to the Portuguese Roul-Fereyra Andrade, who having landed here obliged a father and mother to destroy their little infant by pounding it in a mortar. "Ce general etoit un Diable incarné," as Thevenot justly observes. (Voyages, Tome IV. p. 618. Amst. 1727, 3me. ed). As the name of this respectable Frenchman must again occur, I shall here notice some doubts unjustly entertained respecting the authenticity of his work, which Sir James Porter, (Observ. on the Turks, Vol. I. p. 9) and later English writers, (one a very distinguished traveller), have regarded as the literary imposture of a man who had never quitted Europe. But the *elder* and *younger* Thevenot have been confounded. The *uncle* who was Librarian to the King of France, and published a Collection of other persons travels, (like our Purchas, Hakluyt, or Harris); and the *nephew* who visited many countries of the East. We cannot suppose a collusion between Chardin and any contemporary traveller; especially one with whom he did not agree in certain opinions. Yet we find him mention "M. Thevenot le Voyageur;" his interview with him near Persepolis; and the mistake both of Pietro della Valle and of Thevenot, concerning ancient sculptures at that place. (Voy. de Chard. Tome IX. p. 120, 124, 125. Rouen, 1723). Thevenot likewise speaks of some fellow countrymen who travelled in Persia while he was there. Such as Tavernier and Doliere, (Daulier

Upon this island, also, our party found goats; no longer consecrated to Venus and Mercury, as in the time of Alexander, when Nearchus, with the Grecian fleet, cast anchor here: for the *Catæa* of his journal, (preserved by Arrian) is *Keis* or *Keish* in the nomenclature of oriental geography(37).

The antiquity of this name, I have not been able to ascertain; nor can I recollect any mention of *Keish*

Deslandes, author of "Les Beautez de la Perse," 4to. 1673). Had he used their names to favour any literary cheat, those writers who survived him many years would assuredly have declared him an impostor. (See Voy. de Thev. Tome IV. p. 191). He died at *Mianah*, in Persia, Nov. 1667, and some years after, his bones were removed thence by M. Petis de la Croix, (Oriental Interpreter to the King of France), and interred in a cemetery of Christians at Tabriz. "Je m' acquittai du devoir que "j'etois obligé de rendre au bon ami de mon père, feu M. Thevenot, si estimé en "Perse pour son honnêteté et sa doctrine; et enterré dans cet endroit depuis dix ans, "je fis transporter ses ossemens par des Prêtres Armeniens en l'eglise des Capucins de "Tauryz." (Extrait du Journal du Sieur Petis, Fils, & p. 310 published by M. Langlès with the "Relation de Dourry Effendy," Paris, 1810). It is unnecessary to multiply testimonies respecting one whom the best informed of his countrymen quote with respect, styling him indifferently "Thevenot the younger," or "the nephew," or the "traveller." He seems to me, as far as I have traced his steps, in general worthy of the epithet *accurate*, bestowed on him by Gibbon. (Rom. Emp. Chap. XVII. note 34). A good account of Thevenot, and of his travels, may be found in Collier's "Great Historical Dictionary." Vol. II. (See. edit. folio, Lond. 1701). But it must be acknowledged that not only by Moreri, but other French writers, have the two Thevenots been confounded, as appears from the "Dictionaire Historique," of Ladvocat. (Par. 1760): and the "Nouvelle Bibliotheque d'un Homme de gout." Tome III. p. 454. (Par. 1777).

(37) Arrian describes Catæa as a desert island Κατάιαν νῆσον ἐρήμην; the sheep and goats dedicated there to Hermes and Aphrodite were brought, he says, every year from neighbouring places. (Hist. Ind. cap. 37).

made by an Eastern author earlier that ZAKARIA CAZVI'NI. He died in the year 1275, and shall be quoted below. SAADI who survived him sixteen years, also notices the island of *Keish* in a story of his *Gulistán*(58). But, admitting the authority of a Persian manuscript, we may assign its name to the tenth century, when one KEIS, the son of a poor widow, in *Siráf*, embarked for India, with his sole property, a cat. There he fortunately arrived at a time when the palace was so infested by mice or rats, that they invaded the king's food, and persons were employed to drive them from the royal banquet. KEIS produced his cat, the noxious animals soon disappeared, and magnificent rewards were bestowed on the adventurer of *Siráf*, who returned to that city, and afterwards, with his mother and brothers, settled in the island, "which, from him, has "been denominated *Keis*, or, according to the Persians, "*Keish*"(59). Of this anecdote I should not have noticed so

(58) Beginning thus, بازرگاني را ديدم (Book III). But this story is not found in every MS. copy.

(59) و با مادر بجزيره قيس نقل فرمودند و نسبت اين جزيره بقيس است اما در عرف عجم كيش گويند

See that rare manuscript Chronicle, the تاريخ وصاف *Tarikh i Wessáf*, composed, (as appears by different dates) at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, by ABDALLAH SHIRA'ZI. عبد الله شيرازي. The style of this work is much admired by the Persians, although in many places so obscure and difficult, that to most copies of it marginal explanations have been added. It contains the History of HULA'KU KHA'N and CHENGIZ KHA'N.

many particulars, had any other information occurred respecting the name. In countries widely separated, and in various languages, the same story has been related of different persons(40).

Whether the walls which, from our ship seemed inconsiderable, were remains of ancient edifices, or had been lately constructed; we have reason to believe that this island once contained a flourishing city. ZAKARIA CAZVI´NI, a writer of the thirteenth century having stated *Keish* to be four *farsangs*, or above fourteen miles in circumference, mentions, that "its "town is of very pleasing appearance; with a castle and "many gates, gardens and various structures; so that it is "one of the most delightful places in our time"(41). He adds that this island was the resort of ships from Persia, India and Arabia, the merchants frequenting it for commercial purposes.

HAMDALLAH, his fellow citizen who lived in the next century after him, states the extent of *Keis* (or *Keish*), to be four farsangs by four farsangs, "and in this island," continues

(40) Besides our English Whittington, so long the hero of a favourite nursery-tale, I find the worthy Florentine "messer Ansaldo degli Ormanni," indebted to feline assistance for riches and celebrity; his two cats, "due bellissimi gatti, un maschio e "una femmina," soon relieved the king of an island (Canaria) on which he had been cast by a violent tempest, from the plague of mice, and he was recompensed "con "richissimi doni." See a letter of "Conte Lorenzo Magalotti" in the "Scelta di "Lettere Familiari," published by Nardini. Lond. 1802. (p. 139).

(41) و شهران بغايت خوش منظر قلعه دارد بابواب متعدد و بساتين و عمارات که يکي از نزهات روزکار است

MS. Seir al belâd. (third climate).

he, "is the city of *Keis*, and in other parts of it are "plantations of date-trees, and lands yielding corn. The "inhabitants fish, (or dive), for pearls: the air is extremely "warm, and the water used here is rain collected and "preserved in reservoirs or cisterns"(42).

But the buildings which we indistinctly saw, may have belonged to a palace, of which ABDALLAH SHIRA'ZI seems to speak, as if still existing, a splendid edifice, at the period when he wrote, (from 1299 to 1319). This palace was erected by the *Siráfian* adventurer above-mentioned and his descendants, under whom Keis became the great commercial mart for *Hind* and *Sind*; *Chin* and *Turkestán*. So that "it is now," adds ABDALLAH, "one of "the principal islands of *Fars*; and its fame is celebrated "throughout all regions; and being proclaimed in every "language pervades the wide expanse of the universe"(43).

It would appear that the successors of KEIS constituted themselves independent sovereigns, and extended their dominion far beyond the precincts of this island. Teixeira,

(42) و در ان شهر قیس است و دیکر اطراف در آن نخلستان و جاي زرعست و اینجا غوص مروارید کنند و هوایش بغایت کرم است و ابش از باران که در مصانع جمع کنند

MS. *Nozhat al colúb*. (Geogr. chap. 12).

(43) امروز از معظمات جزایر فارس است و در بسیط افاق ذکر ان بر هر زبان سایر و در هر مکان دایر

MS. *Tarikh-i-Wessáf*. (chap. 2).

who copied the Persian Annals of TURA'N SHA'H, informs us that AYA'Z having examined *Jarún* requested it from the *King of Keys*, to whom it then belonged, as all the other islands in the Persian Gulf(44). This anecdote is confirmed by the historian AHMED AL GHAFA'RI, who relates that the Prince of *Hormuz*, SHEHA'B AD DI'N-AYA'Z "purchased the island of *Jarún* from the *Kings* of *Keish*," and began to erect edifices there in the year 710, or of our era 1311(45). *Jarún*, the new *Hormuz*, by its advantageous position near the Gulf's mouth soon intercepted the commerce of *Keish*. One rose into wealth and importance as the other declined, and the fall of both within a short time, might have suggested, as we viewed them, many subjects for moral reflexions. But of these small islands the decay was forgotten amidst the numerous and extensive scenes of desolation which the neighbouring continent presented to our notice.

We sailed from *Keish* before noon on the twenty-fifth; passed by *Siráf* and *Gilám*, and saw *Inderabia*:

(44) "Concidenola Ayaz, y satisfecho della trato de pedirla al Rey de Keys cuya "era, como todas las demas que en el sino Persico havia."

Relac. de los Reyes de Harmuz. p. 12.

(45) شهاب الدين ایاز — از ملکان قیس جزیره جرون را بخرید

MS. *Tarikh Jehán ará* (Chap. of the Kings of Hormuz).

but coming about midnight from thirty fathoms water into seventeen, and afterwards into seven, we anchored(46).

The remote prospect of *Siráf* and *Gilám* on the coast of *Láristán*, with the hills extending beyond *Charek*, eastward, and lost in the horizon towards the west, I endeavoured to represent in a sketch (Plate VI. No. 20). But the view (Plate VII. No. 3), taken when we had approached more nearly, will convey a better idea of *Siráf*; once the great seat of Asiatick commerce; rivalling *Shiráz* in size and rank among the cities of Fars; and embellished with many splendid and costly mansions: such, at least, they were in the estimation of Ebn Haukal, who informs us that wealthy merchants and others at this place, expended "thirty thousand *dinárs* on the "building of their houses," and he represents the city as nearly equal in size to *Shiráz*; which, when he travelled (in the tenth century), extended between three and

(46) *Gilám* appears to be the *Ila* of Arrian, as Dr. Vincent remarks (Nearchus, p. 375. See ed. 1807) But we can scarcely suppose it the *Ghilan* غيلان which Hamdallah Cazvi'ni enumerates among the *islands* of this Gulf, subject to the Persian government. (See the MS. *Nozhat al colúb*. Fifth *Faśl*, or Section of Seas and Lakes). The *Inderabia* of some English navigators is *Anderria*, *Anderipe*, *Inderrya*, in different charts, according to Dr. Vincent, (Nearch. p. 375) who thinks it the *Ceicendrus* of Arrian. I do not find a corresponding name in any of my oriental manuscripts. *Ind-Arabia* would form a smooth compound, but not applicable to this Persian island, nor conformable etymologically to هندرابي *Hinderábi* as Niebuhr expresses the name in Arabick or Persian characters; (Descr. de l'Arab. p. 283). Teixeira writes *Andreny* (Viage &c. p. 60), and Colonel Capper *Handeraby*, (Observ. on the Passage to India p. 241. 3d. ed).

four miles(45). ABU'L FEDA who frequently repeats the very words of EBN HAUKAL, mentions those houses, and the thirty thousand *dinárs*; a sum equivalent to fifteen thousand pistoles of European currency(46). And it appears that in the construction of those houses, wood was principally used, imported from Africa, as I am authorized to affirm, although a learned Orientalist has supposed that it was furnished by Europe(47).

(45) Orient Geogr. of Ebn Hauk. p. 102. 104.

(46) "Trente mille dinars qui font quinze mille pistoles de nostre monnoye." See the "Anciennes Relations des Indes, &c. (p. 142), of M. Renaudot. This ingenious commentator has not quoted the Arabick text of ABU'L FEDA; but I find it among the fragments of this author's works, published at Vienna, (*Ex Bibliotheca regia Parisiensi* 1807. Oct. p. 200), with a Greek translation by Demetrius Alexandrides.

و في مدينة اهلة و يبالغون في بنيانهم حتي ان الرجل من التجار ينفق علي عمارة داره فوق ثلثين الف دينار

(47) "La plupart (de leurs maisons), estoient basties de bois qu'on y apportoit du "*pais des Francs*, ou de *l'Europe*." So Renaudot, (Anc. Relat. p. 142) translates the words of ABUL' FEDA, whom he seems to have consulted through the medium of Golius, (in Al-Fargh). According to the Arabick text printed at Vienna, (See my last note) what Renaudot has rendered *Pais des Francs* is *Zenje* زنج expressed in the Greek version by Ζαγγιβάρη. EBN HAUKAL's work (I quote the best manuscript, distinguished as *Sur al beldán*) gives the passage thus.

و بناء خانها ایشان غالب از چوبي که انرا از زنکبار نقل مي کنند

"And their houses are chiefly constructed of wood, which they import from *Zangbár*" But the historian HAFIZ ABRU' in his MS. Chronicle more particularly describes the African materials employed by those *Siraffians*. They formed, says he, their edifices of "*gatch* (a very fine white mortar like plaster of Paris) and of brick, and on "the houses of this city they expended much ebony-wood and ivory brought in ships "from the borders of *Zenje* or Ethiopia." I here annex the Persian passage:—

To me *Siráf* appeared inconsiderable; situate close to the sea, and near the foot of lofty mountains, which neither exhibited on their sun-parched summits, nor on their steep and broken sides, the slightest symptom of vegetation. Behind it, however, in a chasm or kind of valley among the rocks, there may have been verdant and fertile spots. I could discern a castle with three towers above the town, and at some distance on the right a whitish edifice like those tombs of Mohammedan saints or *Imám-zádehs*, which are found near almost every Persian village. It stood in a small grove, probably, of date trees(*). Six or seven boats and fishing vessels in front of *Siráf*, occupied (as we may suppose), that place which, during the *ninth* century had been crowded with ships bringing and receiving

عمارت را بگچ و خشت بنا نهادندي و چوب ساج و عاج بسيار كه از طرف زنج بكشتي اوردندي بعمارت انجا صرف شد

It is probable that Renaudot's mintake arose from the resemblance, in some inaccurate manuscript, between فرنج and زنج *Franje* and *Zanje*.

(*) As I shall have frequent occasion to notice the tombs of Persian saints, it may be here observed, that the compound word *Imám Zádeh* (امام زاده) signifies the descendant of an *Imám*, one of the great prelates or chiefs of the Mohammedan religion. Those *Imáms* appear to have been equally prolifick as holy, if a judgment may be formed from the multiplicity of hereditary saints whose tombs are scattered over Persia. These tombs after the personages interred within, are themselves generally styled *Imám Zadehs*; thus we often heard of a brick-built *Imam Zadeh*, the ruined dome of an *Ima'm Zadeh*, &c. But it must not be supposed that Persia is the only country fertile in *Musulmán* saints: they abound wheresoever the religion of MOHAMMED prevails; and thrive luxuriantly even on the western coast of Africa, as we learn from Mr. Riley's very interesting "Narrative" of his shipwreck, &c. (Lond. 1817), in which he

the most precious merchandise of distant regions(51). In the *tenth*, commerce flourished here, and a writer of that time has recorded the opulence of many Sirafians whom he had personally known(52). In the *twelfth* it is enumerated among the chief cities of *Pars*(53), and in the *thirteenth* I find mentioned the lofty palaces and other stately buildings of this city(54), which was regarded as the emporium

styles their tombs *Saint-houses*, and tells us (p. 537) that some of his companions "were "obliged to dismount and walk for about two miles to pass a *Saint-house*, which the "Moors held in high veneration;" this, adds he, "was the fiftieth *Saint-house* I had "seen since I left Swearah." On examining in his map the distance between Swearah and Azamore, we may allow about two saints and a half to eight miles. If the anecdotes related by preceding travellers have not totally effaced from the reader's mind, that respect which might naturally be entertained for those whom their countrymen agree to place in the odour of sanctity; I shall not endeavour to lessen it by the recital of circumstances confirmed on good authority, but merely declare my opinion that the Persian saints equal the African above-mentioned, in virtue and miraculous powers as in number; and to both I would apply the following passage from Mr. Windus's Journey to Mequinez, (p. 55. 1725). "It is difficult either to give a general rule what "a saint in this part of the world is, or how he becomes so: but any thing extraordi-"nary makes one. Some are saints by descent; others for some particular abilities; "as one in this town (Tetuan) for curing sore eyes: *many for being fools or madmen; "and some for being great rogues.*"

(51) Even of China. "La plupart des vaisseaux Chinois font leur charge a *Siraf*." See the account given by two Mohammedan travellers of the ninth century in Renaudot's "Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine." p. 10, 141.

(52) EBN HAUKAL, Orient. Geogr. p. 116. 133.

(53) AL EDRISI's Arabick Geography (Rome 1592). Clim. III. Sect. 6.

(54) They are thus mentioned in the MS. *Seir al bela'd* of ZAKARIA CAZVI'NI, (third Climate). بقعة ان و سبنة و سراداي ان وفيها

of *Fars* when ABU'L FEDA, wrote in the *fourteenth*(35). But the Syrian prince may have adopted some description of this distant place given by an early writer; for HAMDALLAH MASTOUFI or CAZVI'NI, a contemporary geographer, on Persian subjects of pre-eminent authority; and HA'FIZ ABRU', would ascribe the decay of *Siráf* to the rise of *Keish* under those Dilemite sovereigns whose dynasty terminated in the *eleventh* century. HAMDALLAH, however, allows that it had formerly been a considerable city(36), and HA'FIZ ABRU' borrows these very words in the beginning of his account; then adds, that it was, whilst the *Khalifahs* of *Baghdád* reigned, the great commercial mart by sea and land, for goods brought in ships and by caravans: particularly camphor, aloes, sandal, and various other aromatick and fragrant substances; besides every kind of medicinal drugs, both Indian and Chinese. In those days, continues he, the inhabitants of *Siráf* made wine unequalled throughout all the districts of *Fars;* and the place flourished until the close of the Dilemite government; after which, "the ancestors of "EMIR KEISH became predominant; and occupied *Keis* "and other islands. Thus the commercial advantages "which *Siráf* had enjoyed were cut off, and fell into

(35) Thus we find it described, سيراف هي أعظم فرضة لفرس in the fragments of ABU'L-FEDA's Geography, (Arabick and Greek) printed at Vienna, as above quoted. p. 266.

(36) MS. *Nozhat al Colúb (Ch. of Fars).* سيراف در قديم شهري بزرگ بوده است

"their hands. This circumstance happened in the time "of RUKN AD' DOULAH(57)".

Although the industry of man had rendered *Siráf* a flourishing place, it does not appear to have been favoured by nature. For the two Persian authors last quoted, and many others, acknowledge that the climate was hot to an extreme, while fountains or running streams were so few and scanty, that the inhabitants drank rain water preserved in reservoirs. EBN HAUKAL mentions a mountain named *Jem*, (جم), near the town, which supplied it with fruits and water(58). According to his fuller account (in the MS. *Súr al beldan*), that mountain (which he calls *Jemr* جمر) is very broad and ample, and so lofty that the air on its summit becomes like the climate of the *Sardsír*, or cold region(59). In some vallies of this mountain, if we may believe the *Jehan námah*, an extraordinary stone

(57) بعد از ان پدران امیر کیش مستولي شدند و جزیرة قیس و دیکر جزایر بدست کرفتند و ان دخل که سیراف را بود بریده کشت و با ایشان افتاد این حال در زمان رکن الدوله بود

MS. *Tárikh i Hafiz Abrú*. RUKN AD DOULAH died in the year of our era 970.

(58) Orient. Geogr. p. 104.

(59) چنانک از بلندي ان هواء او بسردسیر مماثل و مشابه مي باشد (MS. *Súr al beldán*). I know not whether Mount Chareg corresponds to this description. The compound word *Sard-sír* (سرد سیر) signifies a country much affected by cold; in opposition to *Garm-sír* (کرمسیر) a warm region.

is found, which, when broken, yields a jewel resembling the ruby, but liable, after some time, to various changes of colour(60).

Having within a few days, since our entrance into the Persian gulf, traced the rise and fall of commercial prosperity, from *Hormuz* which had flourished on the decay of *Keish*; to *Keish* which had impoverished and ruined *Sirâf*; we weighed anchor early on the twenty-sixth, and as there was little wind, continued to have *Charck* and the hills of *Siraf* in view for several hours(61). Among the incidents of this day I shall only notice that a sailor, of the Lion's crew, accused and conscious of some crime, threw himself into the sea; this circumstance gave us an opportunity of witnessing the activity displayed by many Arabs and

(60) The *Jehân Nâmah* جهان نامه or "Description of the World" is quoted in the *Ajaïb al beldân*, under the head of جبل سيراف *Jebl-i-Sirâf*, or "the mountain of *Sirâf*." I have not seen the *Jehân nâmah*: which is mentioned by HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI, so often quoted in my pages, author of the *Nozhat al colûb* and *Tarikh Guzîdah*. But it must not be confounded with the *Jehân numâ* (جهان نما) which is a Turkish work (printed at Constantinople in 1730) though bearing a Persian title. A similar account of the *Sirâf* mountains and extraordinary stone is given on the same authority, in that geographical *Khatmah* (خاتمه) or "appendix," which properly forms the eighth volume of MIRKHOND's celebrated chronicle, the *Rauzet al Sefa*.

(61) The learned Vincent, on many occasions, frankly acknowledges himself unacquainted with the Eastern languages. He was willing, however, to suppose, what no Orientalist could readily admit, that *Charrack*, (*Chârek* or *Châreg*, جارک) and *Sirâf*, (سيراف) were the same.—See his "Voyage of Nearchus." Second edit. p. 300, 365.

Indians, who, before our boats could reach the man, leaped from their *ghrab*, which followed us at half a mile's distance, and with as much apparent ease as if they acted on a firm surface, held his head above the water, until he was received on board in a state of insensibility resembling death.

On the twenty-seventh I made a sketch of *Busheáb*, an island indistinctly seen with the naked eye, to which it appeared only as part of the main shore, slightly prominent. Plate VII, (No. 4). represents it under this aspect with the neighbouring coast and barren mountains. When within nearer view, (Plate VII. No. 5), we could discern by means of glasses, that there were on it some houses, and towers of brick or clay, situate among date trees(*).

Early this morning twelve or thirteen *dows* or Arab vessels had been perceived. From their manner of approaching and suddenly retreating in various directions, and from the signals made by their chief or admiral, it was conjectured that they belonged to the *Juasmes*, who were desirous of seducing our ship into the pursuit of some, whilst other *dows* of their fleet should attack

(*) *Busheáb* or *Abusheib*, by Niebuhr called *Scheek Schaib* شيخ شعيب (Descr. de l'Arab. p. 283. Copenh. 1773) probably from some chief of the numerous Arabian tribes settled in islands and towns along the Persian coast.

the *ghrab*. In number, size, and construction they perfectly corresponded to the reports which we had heard. Before noon it was evident that they contained crowds of armed men, and in these, the pirates were soon recognised by many soldiers, who a year before had assisted in destroying their settlements at *Rás al kheimah*(63). Several of the *dows* were very large and well furnished with guns; the pirates, however, refused to hold any parley, and we, therefore, commenced a tremendous cannonade, the resounding of which, amongst rocks and islands and along the shore, was astonishingly sublime. Its more immediate effects obliged the *Juásmes* to save themselves in shallow water, where the Lion could not follow; but there was reason to believe that some of them felt our twenty-four pound balls.

We proceeded with a favouring breeze and on the twenty-eighth saw *Barnhill*, a remarkable mountain which rises, like *Chareg*, above the general range of high lands, (Plate VII. No. 6). We then passed Cape *Verdistan*, (or *Bardistan* بردستان), near which, among broken rocks and "hideous precipices," are some extraordinary springs of hot water(64).

(63) *Rás al Kheimah* راس الخيمة an Arabick name, signifying the "Cape (or Head of the tent." I shall have occasion to mention this place in another chapter.

(64) They were examined in 1750, by Mr. Plaisted; See his "Journal from Calcutta," &c. p. 16.

About noon, on the first of March, we anchored near *Bushehr*. Thus ended a voyage from England, during which the Lion had sailed, according to daily calculations, *twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-six miles*(65).

At two o'clock the Governor MOHAMMED JAAFAR KHA'N, with the principal merchants of *Bushehr*, came off in formal procession to our ship; their boats were gaily decorated, and a flag displaying the *Lion and Sun*

(65) I received from Mr. Gauthrop (navigating master) the following statement of the Lion's total run.

From England to Madeira.....	1619	miles.
From Madeira to Rio de Janeiro.....	5366	
From Rio de Janeiro to Bombay.....	11704	
From Bombay to Bushehr.....	1060	
Amount of Cross-bearings, &c. added by Captain Heathcote.....	20449 227	
	20676	miles.

Respecting the islands above mentioned, (page 166), which we generally call the *Tombs*, and Niebuhr writes طنب *Tunb*, or (as it is pronounced *Tumb*) See Vincent's (Nearch. p. 357). He also notices Cape *Certes* or *Sertes* in p. 358; and in p. 350 *Polier*, the "Pylora" of Arrian (Πύλωρα). Hist. Ind. c. 37. But I must here remark that Niebuhr in writing *Beliér*, بل یور (Descrip. de l'Arab. p. 283) imitates the Arabian orthography or pronounciation, according to which the Persian P becomes B or F. The ancient *Pylora* would be better represented by پلیور *Puliér*. Mr. Ives calls it "Polloar." (Voyage to Ind. p. 204). *Nobfleur* is the *Frour* (فرور) of Niebuhr. p. 283. I shall state in another place some reasons which once induced me to suspect a confusion in the name of *Frour*, and *Polier* or *Pulera*.

of Persia(66), waved over the chief barge; in another was the *Nakáreh Khánch*, or band of musicians(67); and I understood that both the flag and the musick were honours appertaining to JAAFAR KHA'N, not as *Hákem* (حاكم) or Governor of *Bushehr*, but as High Admiral of the Empire; there was, also, a *Láti*, or buffoon, distinguished by his four-pointed hat or fool's cap. This fellow whilst singing most ridiculously, threw himself into various uncouth attitudes and seemed to regulate the motions of some other men, who, at certain intervals, clapped their hands together with a loud noise(68).

(66) *Shir u Khurshid Iráni*, شير و خورشيد ايراني have formed, during some centuries the national device, or rather the armorial bearings of the Persian kings. In general the Sun is represented half-risen over the back of a lion, which our heralds might describe as *passant*. So it appears on a *fels*, or copper coin of *Kirmán Shahán* now before me, and delineated in a plate of this work. Respecting the *Lion and Sun*, and devices, probably more ancient as armorial bearings, on Persian flags or banners; I shall offer some observations in another chapter.

(67) *Nakárah Khánch* نقاره خانه literally signifies the "kettle-drum house," from *nakareh*, a small brazen-bodied drum; and *khaneh* a house. But it is generally used to express an assemblage of military, or field musicians, whose instruments, to our ears, are loud, harsh and disagreeable. There was a most obstreperous drum, accompanying long brazen trumpets, (کرنا *Karrena*, the sounds of which, our sailors compared to the braying of asses), and two *Surna* (سرنا) in appearance not unlike clarinets, but sending forth notes such as might be expected from two discordant bag-pipes without a drone. The royal *Nakareh Khaneh*, which I often heard at *Tehrán*, did not excite a more favourable opinion of the Persian field-musick than this *Bushehr* band; but in the course of a few months I became extremely fond of listening to the *Sehtárch*, the *Kemánchch* and other string-instruments; which, although the performers were ignorant of harmonious combinations or counterpoint, produced with good voices in chamber concerts, very soft and pleasing melody.

(68) The *Látics* must be often (and more particularly) noticed in the course of this work.

The Governor and merchants ascended into the Lion, and were conducted to the cabin, where they seated themselves on chairs in a manner which evinced the novelty and awkwardness of their situation. Many trays filled with sweetmeats, fruits, and cheese, were brought as a present from JAAFAR KHA'N, who was introduced to the Ambassador, and after an hour's conversation, took his leave. The favour of this visit was acknowledged by a salute of eleven guns.

Mr. Bruce, acting as the East India Company's *Resident*, or Agent at *Bushehr*, with Lieutenants Henry Willock, Taylor, and Martin, and Mr. Henshaw, also came on board(*).

2. The governor sent his barge to take ashore MIRZA ABU'L HASSAN this morning at an early hour; for the astrologers had pronounced that from sun-rise until eight o'clock would be the most auspicious time in which he could possibly land. Of any concern in this calculation,

(*) The meritorious conduct of Mr. Bruce has since procured him the full appointment of "Resident," at *Bushehr*. Mr. Willock commanded a body of Sepoy dragoons, who had accompanied the [illegible] mission, and were now in readiness to receive the Ambassador on shore, and attend him during his stay in Persia. Mr. Willock is at present, (1817), *Chargè d'Affaires* at the court of *Tehrán*. Mr. Taylor commanded the Resident's guard of Sepoy infantry at *Bushehr*; and Mr. Martin had been there some time, awaiting an opportunity of returning to India. Mr. Henshaw resided at *Bushehr*.

the envoy, I believe, may be acquitted; it was made by the Governor's wise men, and MIRZA ABU'L HASSAN, who had now received from the king a patent conferring on him the title and dignity of *Khán*, (see p. 2), continued with us to the latest moment that they allowed. He then, whilst we fired a salute, departed, but not in the *Bushehr* state-barge; he chose rather to be conveyed in one of our boats manned by English sailors, who, pleased with this flattering preference, when they had approached the strand, carried him on their shoulders through the water, to dry ground. On his landing, fifteen guns were discharged from the fort: a circumstance which he afterwards noticed to the ambassador, as a greater compliment than had been usually paid on similar occasions; and prognosticating good luck, although he was not without enemies in his own country.

We remained on board, sending to the British factory various articles of heavy baggage; military stores; carriages; and presents for the king of Persia. To carry these, several *Nakhudas*, or "masters of vessels"(70). attended; and as some of them, having left their slippers in the boats, were induced by curiosity to enter our ship, I had an opportunity of sketching their figures (See Plate X).

(70) Respecting the word *Nakhuda*, See Chap. 1, note 76.

Nubbundas or Bunt-Hunters at Bushehr

The ambassador received from JAAFAR KHA'N, a fine young lion. This was a very gentle creature, and seemed pleased when the sailors patted his head. On being first put into the coop or cage, he conceived such fondness for an old, ragged, and dirty canvas bag, which happened to lie there, that he would not allow any person to touch it: and on moving from one side to another, always took it with him in his mouth. He refused, during two days, boiled or roasted meat; but greedily devoured raw flesh. The country about *Bushehr*, where he had been taken five or six weeks before, abounded formerly in wild beasts: it was once, as a native informed me, the *Maaden i Shír*, or "mine of lions"(71).

(71) The Arabick word *Maaden* (معدن) signifying in general metals, or minerals, and the mine which produces them, is often used by the Persians like their own word *Kán* كان, to denote a place very abundant or fertile in any thing. Thus a man told me that the Caspian sea, (on the shore of which we conversed) was a *Maaden-i-mahi* معدن ماهي or "mine of fish;" and a place near *Shiraz*, on the road from *Bushehr*, is called the "mine" or *Kán* of *zinián* (كان زنيان) from the great quantity of *Zinian*, a certain grain which grows there. The historian HAFIZ ABRU' in his account of the *Desht-i-Arzhen* (which I shall hereafter quote at length when describing that place), employs the same terms as the *Bushehri* above mentioned, "a mine of lions" (معدن شير) *maaden i-shir*. Thus also EBN HA'ZI, in his work entitled the *Heft Aklim* or "Seven Climates," styles *Cazerún* a "mine of learned men," *Maaden-i-ulema*, (معدن علما); and the classick HA'FIZ introduces both the Arabick and Persian words for a mine into one verse.

شيراز معدن لب لعل است كان حسن
من جوهري و مفلسم ايرا مشوشم

"*Shiraz* is a mine (*Maaden*) of ruby-lipped damsels; a mine (*Kan*) of beauty. "I am a jeweller (and understand its value), but poor (and unable to make purchases); "on this account I am disconsolate." See the Ode (in م) beginning من دوستدار

3. Letters were received by the Ambassador from JAAFAR KHA'N and ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, with a present consisting of two lambs alive, several trays full of oranges, figs, raisins, dried cherries, and other fruits both fresh and preserved; also cheese, and a kind of sweet-meat called *maïdah*(72).

5. Every necessary arrangement having been made for accommodating us on shore, we proceeded before noon this day from the ship, which fired a grand salute at the moment of our departure. Captain Heathcote's band of musick accompanied us; we passed by the ribs (for little more remained) of NADIR SHA'H's great fifty-gun ship(73); and were joined near the town by many boats full of people. On landing at *Bushehr*, the Ambassador was

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The second Persian line above quoted, though not immediately relating to the subject of this note, must be here remarked as having, in two fine manuscript copies of HA'FIZ's *Diwan* out of four now on my table, ازان for ایرا This variation, however, does not affect the sense, and I have preferred ایرا which the MS. dictionary *Surari* explains by this very passage of HAFIZ.

(72) This was composed, according to the best account that I could procure, of grape-juice or orange-juice, inspissated with sugar, then mixed with the kernels of almonds or walnuts, and dried. The MS. dictionary *Berhan Kattea*, mentions (under the word *Maidah* معيده) other ingredients, such as sheep's milk, wheaten flour, &c. Few nations equal the Persians in similar compositions.

(73) It is said that this vessel was constructed of wood brought seven or eight hundred miles from the forests of *Mazenderán* or Hyrcania, on the backs of horses, mules, and occasionally of camels. I have heard, but dare not venture to repeat, an estimate of the expense.

received with much ceremony by JAAFAR KHA'N, ABDIL-ZAR AGHA, a Turk of high rank from *Baghdad*; ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, and all the most respectable inhabitants. In the streets were drawn up the Resident's guard of infantry Sepoys, the detachment of Sepoy cavalry, the Royal-artillery men, and serjeants of the forty-seventh regiment. An irregular body of Persians armed with match-lock muskets crowded the beach, and others, by blows of their sticks, restrained the mob. In lanes and corners, and on the flat-roofed buildings were multitudes of women, enveloped, but with little attention to the graces of drapery, in dark blue cloaks after the Arabian fashion; or in white sheets; their faces, generally, being concealed by pieces of black crape. The Governor led us to his house, where we climbed to the principal chamber by a staircase nearly perpendicular, each step of which was most inconveniently high. In consideration of our European customs, some chairs had been provided, and *Caleáns* or pipes, with coffee, tea, and rose-water, were presented to the guests, besides fruit, cakes and sweet-meats. Meantime Lady Ouseley and her female attendants were entertained in the Governor's *hharem*, to the door of which Captain Heathcote had escorted her *Palankin*(74); she saw there only three ladies, one infant, and a few maid-servants.

(74) This *pálankín* (more properly called *pálki* پالکي) had been procured at Bombay. It is a vehicle not used by the Persians.

Our visit having been finished, we mounted the horses provided for us, and rode through narrow streets to a gate in the town wall, on passing which we immediately entered the desert. Several robust men, half naked, went before us, tumbling and jumping with considerable activity. Some *pahlevâns* displayed feats of strength and dexterity by whirling over their shoulders very large and ponderous wooden clubs(75). A boy who danced, disguised in woman's dress, was more conspicuous for gesticulation, than either for elegance or modesty(76). The *Lúti*, also, above-mentioned, performed his part, and we were deafened by the sound of Persian trumpets and repeated vollies of musketry. Many horsemen who had joined our cavalcade, exhibited the evolutions of a combat; some galloping forwards with the utmost speed, eighty or an hundred yards, discharged their pistols, as the ancient Parthians shot their arrows, at the pursuing foe; whilst others in mock duels, tilted with lances and darted the *Jerîd* or *Jerîdah*(77).

(75) I must refer to a future chapter, for some account of the *Pahlevans* (پهلوان) and their laborious exercises.

(76) I have already alluded, when mentioning the *Nâtch*-girls at Bombay, (p. 73), to an ancient Greek dance, noticed by Aristophanes. And in another chapter the subject of Persian dances shall be resumed.

(77) This word, جريده *Jeridah* according to the MS. *Berhán Kattea*, would signify a kind of small spear or lance. But instead of real javelins, the Persians use in their equestrian exercises, branches of the palm tree, *(jeridah)*, or sticks of some heavy wood, which they dart at each other with considerable violence, and from frequent practice, learn to parry and avoid with much ingenuity.

Thus we proceeded over the desert to our camp, situate about a mile and three quarters southward from *Bushehr;* and assembled in a spacious tent, where the Ambassador opened packets of letters and English news-papers just arrived by way of Constantinople. He had scarcely announced the successes of our army in Spain, when the gazette fell from his hand, and the first line that presented itself to me, declared that he and I had lost a brother(*).

Those Persians who had been exulting in the publick intelligence, and hailing its arrival on the first day of our landing as a most propitious omen, all silently retired; expressing by their manner, that they were sensible of the private calamity, although they did not change congratulation into unseasonable condolence.

(*) Lieutenant Ralph Ouseley, killed in his nineteenth year at the battle of Busaco, Sept. 27, 1810), whilst endeavouring to preserve the colours of his regiment, the forty-fifth.

CHAPTER V.

Camp near Abushahr.

THE name of *Abushahr*, generally abridged into *Bushahr*, or *Bushehr*, has been corrupted by English sailors into *Busheer*, or *Bushire*(1). This town rose into notice during the last century, and is said to have been an inconsiderable village, occupied wholly by fishermen, when *Rishehr* transferred its commerce to the new port, or *bander*, and supplied materials from its ruined structures, of which the remains are still visible within a distance of five miles. I heard, but think the account highly exaggerated, that *Bushehr* contained eight or nine thousand people. Of these many live in huts; the habitations, entitled houses, (chiefly mud-built), amount perhaps to

(1) The Arabick word *Abu* ابو signifies a "father" also "possessing," or "endowed "with" &c. and *Shahr* شهر a "city or town."

four hundred, and are inclosed, towards the land, by a wall of clay or sun-dried brick.

Although the geographical manuscripts quoted in this work have furnished me with extracts relative to various parts of Persia, yet no information can be obtained from them on the subject of *Abushahr*, which at the time when those books were composed, did not probably seem worthy of description. It is however possible that, whether as *Mesambria*, *Taokè*, or under some other name, this place has been, in former ages, very thickly inhabited; for, as I learned, subterraneous chambers and the vestiges of ancient aqueducts and wells were frequently discovered here; besides bricks inscribed with unknown characters; coins, gems and urns, all indicating a numerous population(*).

But the sea has effected many alterations even within the memory of man; it has covered some spots and retired

(*) *Mesambria* (Μεσαμβρια) according to Arrian, was the name of a peninsula or chersonese, forming a district or territory, ὁ δε χωρος χερρονησος ἁπας. Within a few leagues of this he places *Taoke* (Ταοκη) near which was a palace of the Persian kings. (Hist. Ind, c. 39). This Greek name would well express the Arabick طاق *Ták*, (the á being pronounced as in our word *talk*, *walk* &c.) and this, which signifies a vault or arch, is sometimes applied to a whole edifice vaulted or arched; as that palace of the Persian *Kesris* (Chosroes, and his descendants) near *Baghdad* is still called طاق كسرى *Tak-i-kesra*; the principal chamber, of which Mr. Ives (Voyage &c. p. 288) has given a view, being arched or vaulted. Ptolemy assigns two *Taokes* to the province of Persis. (Geogr. Lib. VI. c. 4).

from others, whilst vestiges of antiquity spared by time have been destroyed by earthquakes. One of these dreadful convulsions (which happened about the year 1806) continued fifteen days, alarming by a succession of violent shocks, all who resided in the houses of *Bushehr*, among whom was Mr. Bruce. An offer of those houses for our embassy was declined: we preferred the air of an open plain to the sultry vapours of close and dusty streets. Tents, horses, camels and baggage-mules had been provided; we hourly expected the arrival of a *Mehmándár*(3), and hoped to commence our journey before the expiration of a week. But so many difficulties occurred in transacting business with the *Beglerbeg* or Governor of *Fars*, Prince Husain Ali Mirza(4); and such is the dilatory, vacillating and deceitful conduct of those who manage publick affairs in Persia; that although the Ambassador maintained a constant interchange of couriers with *Shiráz*, and employed the most urgent remonstrances to accelerate all arrangements necessary

(3) This title has been already explained, in chap. 2. note. 5.

(4) The Turkish title *Beiglerbeg* بیکلر بیک (or as Meninski writes it in his "Institut. Ling. Turc. Tom. II. p. 185. Vindob. 1756) بکلربگ *Beglerbeg*) signifies "Lord of Lords," and is given to the ruler of a province. Under him are the *Hákem* (حاکم) or governor of a large city; the *Zábet* (ضابط) or chief magistrate of a town, and the *Ked Khudá* (کدخدا) or principal "house-holder" (See chap. 1. note 78) also the *Kelanter* کلانتر or *buzurg* بزرگ, for so I have heard denominated the person who, in a village, exercised authority over the other inhabitants.

for his advance towards the capital; yet we remained twenty two days encamped on the desert.

During this time the Thermometer generally stood, about one or two o'clock in the afternoon, at 74, 76, or 80, and once at 84, in the shade of my tent; the evenings and mornings, however, were cool; the quick-silver at midnight often sunk to 53, and the mountains near us were covered with snow. On the thirteenth a violent south-easterly wind began to blow and there was heavy rain, with many flashes of lightning. The storm continued all night and caused much trouble and confusion by throwing down several tents.

Early the next day myriads of locusts appeared as in a cloud moving on the desert; they passed over our camp; a few left the main body and went off in different directions, and some flew so low that we easily caught them. At noon the heat was very oppressive, the wind still blowing and overwhelming us in sand like waves. The locusts directed their flight chiefly to the cultivated spots or wherever any verdure could be perceived. The wind ceased, and rain succeeded on the fifteenth, after which we enjoyed two or three days of serene and pleasant weather. The great mass of locusts had descended on the sea-shore and plain near *Bushehr*, where they were immediately gathered as a favourite article of food by

the poor people, who are here almost all of Arabian origin; by those purely Persian, they did not appear to be so much esteemed. Returning from the town I met crowds of women and children, carrying home in baskets, handkerchiefs and bags, the locusts which they had collected.

Of these insects, (at *Bushehr* generally called *Maïg*, and sometimes *Melekh*), one kind is distinguished by the epithet *hhelál*, the eating of it being "lawful;" the other is *hharám* or "forbidden;" this is smaller and more destructive than the *melekh hhelál*, from which it differs also in colour(5).

(5) *Maïg* ميک, and *Melekh*, ملخ, are Persian names for a locust, which the Arabs most commonly call جراد *Jerád*. That kind, blown over, as it was said from the opposite coast of Arabia to *Bushehr*, the Persians styled *melekh deryá* ملخ دریای or the "sea locust," and the Arabs جراد البحر *jerád al bahr*, in the same sense. Bochart has enumerated various Hebrew and Arabick names for the locust in his elaborate "Hieroxoicon." (Lib. VI. cap 1. et. seq); but does not mention those which I have described as Persian; neither does he remark that in the dialect of *Misr* or Egypt, those *jerád al bahr* or "sea locusts" above noticed, are called *Faridis* فريديس, a circumstance merely known to me through the MS. *Berhán Kattea*, which also denominates them in Persian ماهي ربيان *Mahi rabián* The epithet *hhelál* حلال "lawful," and *hharám* حرام "forbidden" are Arabick. I have endeavoured by the double *h* to express that strong aspiration which is given to the first letter ح of both words; but this aspiration however strong, has not among those Arabs and Persians who speak with correctness, the slightest tendency to a guttural sound, which would indeed confound the letter ح with خ distinguished by a point or dot, and best expressed by our *kh* or perhaps the Greek χ. With double *h* accordingly should be written several words which we generally spell with one only; such as *Hafiz*, *Ahmed*, *Mohammed*, proper names; and *Harem* حرم that part of a house appropriated to females and therefore considered as *hharám*, حرام forbidden, sacred, inviolable, &c.

The Arabs prepare a dish of locusts by boiling them with salt, and mixing a little oil, butter or fat; they sometimes toast them before a fire, or soak them in warm water, and without any further culinary process, devour almost every part except the wings. I have myself eaten several locusts variously cooked, and thought them by no means unpalatable; in flavour they seemed to me like a lobster or rather a shrimp; one neither offensively stale, nor absolutely fresh.

Whatever damages the locusts may have done in this visitation, were probably compensated by the repasts which they afforded to thousands of people. But in many countries of Asia, in Africa, and even in some parts of Europe, they have often carried with them not only famine but pestilence; destroying leaves and fruits; corn, herbage and every thing that wore a vegetable appearance; while they caused infectious diseases by the putrefaction of their bodies(6).

(6) Bochart has treated of locusts, as of every other animal mentioned in the sacred scripture, with vast erudition See his "Hierozoicon." (Lib. IV. cap. 1. et. seq). Parkhurst in his "Hebrew and English Lexicon," (under the word דְּבָרָה) quotes Dr. Shaw, Dr. Russell, Hanway and Woodroffe; Baron de Tott, Volney, Hasselquist and Niebuhr, for various particulars respecting locusts; and the list of travellers who notice them might be augmented by the names of Father Angelo, the Chevalier D'Arvieux, Ovington, Norden, and a multitude besides. Harmer and Burder have collected information on this subject, to which the learned Bryant has devoted a section (from p 133 to p. 166) in his curious treatise on the Plagues of Egypt. In my first work, the "Persian Miscellanies," (p. 165. et. seq) I extracted a very

So many travellers, naturalists, and it may be said, antiquaries, have contributed to illustrate the subject of locusts, that I can add but little to the result of their researches. It must, however, be here remarked, that ZAKARIA CAZVI'NI divides the locusts into two classes like horsemen and footmen, "mounted and pedestrian"(4), which will call to the recollection of a Biblical reader some passages from Joel and the Apocalypse.

That certain extraordinary words were supposed to be inscribed on the wings of locusts, different authors have related. The Sieur de Beauplan heard from persons well skilled in various languages, that the characters were Chaldaick and formed *Boze Guion*, words signifying "the scourge of God"(5). But a much longer legend is exhibited on the wings of locusts, and in the Arabick language, if we may believe those Muselmán writers to whom I have referred in a former work. "We are the "army of the mighty God: we have each ninety and

surprising anecdote concerning locusts and the miraculous power exercised over them by a Mohammedan saint, from the manuscript entitled *Raoudh* (or *Rauz*) *arryahin* روض الرياحين "the gardens of fragrant herbs."

(4) *Suwar u piadah* سوار و پیاده See the MS. *Ajaïb al makhlukát* (Account of the *Jerad* or *Melekh*).

(5) See Churchill's "Collection of Voyages and Travels," Vol. I. p. 472.

"nine eggs; and had we but the hundredth, we would "consume the world, and all that it contains"(9).

Whatever characters they may resemble, the marks appearing on locusts wings are presented to the reader's inspection in a very accurate delineation which I made at *Bushehr* (See the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 3.) from one of those creatures just before it was consigned, with hundreds more, to the Arab cook; and many of their real wings, perfectly preserved between the leaves of a book, are still in my collection(10).

While the Lion continued at anchor not many miles from our camp, every rope of that ship, as an officer informed me, was at different times covered with locusts; part of the great flight which settled among us on the shore, and had been, according to general report, blown from the Arabian coast. But some of the more destructive

(9) Persian Miscellanies, p. 176.

(10) M. de Pauw in his "Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, Tome I. p. 131. (Berl. 1773) alludes to a passage of Varro mentioning that the Roman flamens abstained from eating beans, because their flowers contained infernal letters, and adds, "or, ces lettres infernales sont les deux taches noires," those characters are the two black spots, &c. So the Chinese have discovered mystical letters in the lines on a tortoise's back: but Mr. Barrow (China, p. 270) has completely dispelled this fancied mystery; it is, says he, but "the common school-boy trick of "the magic square, or placing the nine digits so that they shall make the sum of "fifteen every way thus:

2 9 4
7 5 3
6 1 8

species once rested on a vessel in which Mr. Bruce was passing between *Bombay* and the Straits of *Hormuz*; and those insects in a short time consumed so much of the sails as to render them almost useless. Millions, it is said, perish in the sea; incalculably more than those which reach the land. This to me seems not incredible; for when the cloud of locusts first arrived, I picked up several which had fallen from it on the ground, evidently exhausted and incapable of a longer flight.

On the eighteenth another cloud of them appeared and we were annoyed in the camp for some days after, by frequent and sudden whirlwinds, which almost suffocated us with sand, and rendered the air so hot that even at night the thermometer rose to 80 and 81.

Yet we availed ourselves of some fine intervals in making excursions along the sea-shore, and exploring the desert. I visited the remains of *Rishahr*, a town once more extensive, there is reason to believe, than that which succeeded it as the *bander*, (بندر) or principal commercial port of *Pars*. Indeed, if we may credit local tradition, one class alone of its inhabitants must have nearly equalled in number the present population of *Bushehr*; for it comprised, as old persons of the neighbourhood say, above seven hundred families employed in cutting and polishing carnelions and other ornamental stones; which, it is

affirmed, were not originally produced here; but brought in their rough state from *Cambay* in India. That a manufactory of carnelion beads once flourished at *Rishahr*, is highly probable, from the multiplicity of fragments dug up among its ruins, and profusely scattered over the adjacent plain. Of many pieces which I collected and examined, few were without blemishes, and most seemed to have been separated by art from larger masses.

But here, also, are often found gems bearing sculptured devices, beads, rings, coins and arrow-heads, all of which by the peasants, are attributed, and not perhaps erroneously, to the ancient *Gabrs* or *Atesh-perests*, the "Adorers of Fire." That they should be right, however, in this instance, proceeds merely from their usual habit of describing whatever they do not understand, as either the produce of foreign regions, the work of preternatural beings, of magicians, or of those who lived in ages before the Mohammedan era. Thus, near the ruined fort of *Rishahr*, in a spot which some denominated the *Kabristán-e-Gabrán*, or "Cemetery of the Fire-worshippers," and supposed to contain sepulchral monuments two or three thousand years old; whilst others thought it the more modern burial-place of European infidels; I could only discover the tombs of orthodox *muselmáns*, true-believers, of whom few, as we may infer from the Arabick inscriptions, probably existed

above three hundred years ago(11). The flat adjoining this cemetery is said to have been covered with houses belonging to persons of the lower orders; and within ramparts still very high, are shown considerable vestiges of buildings, wherein, as my guide had heard, the great and opulent resided. Not far from this place, when searching for wells, the country-people frequently dig up large blocks of hewn stone, and penetrate into vaults and passages widely extending under ground in various ramifications. Below the ramparts a pier or mole projects into the sea.

Notwithstanding all those indications of importance and magnitude, the Persian geographer HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI who wrote in the fourteenth century, does not allow *Rishahr* to rank among the great cities; although he dates its foundation above five hundred years before Christ. "*Rizahr*," says he, (or rather *Ridahr*, according to the Arabian pronunciation) "most commonly known by the name of *Rishahr*, as the "Persians call it, was founded by LOHRASP, a monarch of "the *Caianian* dynasty; and rebuilt by SHA'PU'R, son of

(11) In the preface I have noticed that B and V are almost indiscriminately used, one for the other, by Persians when speaking; as the modern Greeks systematically pronounce B like our V, and many Jews their ב The words above mentioned, *Kabristán e-Gabra'n* (قبرستان کبران) afforded a double instance, not only of this interchange; but of the accent with which southern Persians express A when coming before N. Thus those words were rendered what to English ears sounded as *Karristoon e-Garroon*, or to French, *Carristoun-e-Garroun*. On this subject I have also offered some remarks in the preface.

"ARDESHIR BABEKA'N(12). It is a city, or town, of middling "size; situate on the shore of the Persian sea where "from extreme heat, the air is impure and unwholesome. "The people of this place in summer indurate, (or rather "desiccate), their skins by the application of a paste "made from the flour of acorns(13). Without this "precaution, they would be much annoyed by excessive "perspiration. The products of this spot are dates and "linen, and most of the inhabitants apply themselves to "commerce by sea. And among them are few of an arrogant "or officious character; nay, from their natural goodness "they are humble and submissive towards others(14). This "place is distant from the fort or *Dizh* of *Kelát*, one

(12) Or BABEKA'N as sometimes written, but most accurately PAPEKA'N; for it is derived from that name which Agathias (Hist. Lib. II. p. 61. Lugd. Bat. 1594), expresses with the Greek termination, Πάπεκις; and a Pahlavi inscription deciphered by M. de Sacy, PAPEKI. (Mem. sur. div. Antiq. &c. p 405). I find also a Persian named Παπάκης by Cinnamus, in his Histor. Lib. II. p. 49. (Traj. ad Rhen. 1652).

(13) A marginal note written by some Persian commentator who explains many obscure passages in my best copy of the *Nozhat al Colúb*; and the MS. Lexicon *Berhán Kattea* (in voce بلوز) have enabled me to ascertain the author's meaning with respect to this composition. It is unnecessary to notice the various readings which embarrass the text in several fair copies.

(14) So much do the manuscripts disagree in this passage, from the omission and change of certain words, that after a collation of all, it is not easy to ascertain the author's opinion. But whether he wrote favourably or contemptuously of the *Rishahrians* who existed between five and six hundred years ago, will not, perhaps be thought a matter of importance, as the place is now without inhabitants, and does not appear to have been at any time conspicuous, or indeed noticed, in history.

"farsang; and during summer most of the people remove, "for the benefit of salubrious air, to certain castles"(15)

Within a century after this account was written, it would appear that *Rishahr* had sunk below the rank of middle-sized towns or cities; for HA'FIZ ABRU' whose excellent chronicle abounds with geographical information, describes it as "a small town on the sea-shore, near the "Castle of EMI'R FARA'MARZ BEN NEDA'B"(16). He then notices the excessive heats prevalent here, and the remedy derived nearly as above related, from the oak-tree, but seemingly used to counteract the effects of partial

(15) ریشهر پارسیان انرا ریشهر خوانند و بدان معروفست لهراسپ کیانی ساخت و شاپور بن اردشیر بابکان تجدید عمارتش کرد شهری وسطست برکنار دریای فارس هوایش بغایت گرم و متعفن است در تابستان اهل انجا اس درخت بلوط بندند و از کثرت عرق مجروح گردند حاصلش خرما و کتان بود و اکثر مردم انجا تجارت دریا کنند و درایشان مردم فضول کم بود بلکه از خوبی زبون دیگران شوند و از انجا تا بدز کلات یکفرسنگست و بتابستان بیشتر مردم از بهر خوشی هوا بقلعها روند

(MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. ch. 12).

(16) ریشهر شهرکیست بر کنار دریا نزدیک قلعه امیر فرامرز بن نداب

MS. *Tarikh-i-Hafiz Abrú*.

From the Arabick title *Emír*, I doubt whether we may suppose this castle to have been founded or inhabited by any of the Persian heroes who, in early ages, bore the name of FARA'MARZ. One, particularly, is celebrated by FIRDAUSI in a verse of his *Shah námah* thus enumerating four illustrious warriors.

چو کیو و گرازه فرامرز و زال

Which series of names, sliding naturally into the original metre, may be expressed in this manner; "As GI'V and GURA'ZAH, FARA'MARZ and ZA'L," I find that according to some copies of TABRI's Chronicle, (for others omit the name) RUSTAM's son, whom King BAHMAN slew from revenge, was named FARA'MARZ.

relaxation(17). "From this extreme warmth of the climate," adds he, "and from the unwholesome water, none but per-"sons originally of the country can possibly exist here in "summer; most people then retire to the *Dizh-i-Kelâb*, or "*Gulâb*, and other castles"(18). The only commodities, according to his report, which this town yeilds for maritime exportation, are fish, dates, and the linen peculiarly called *Rishahri*. Next, borrowing the words of HAMDALLAH, before quoted, he mentions the commercial occupations and general character of the people, and concludes by informing us, that "in this "place are a *masjed jamcaa* or mosque of the highest class, "a chief place for religious assemblage, and a pulpit"(19); circumstances which indicate a very numerous population.

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(17) خصية را درخت بلوط .&c

(18) از بسیاري هوا و ناخوشي اب هیچکس جز مردم ان ولایت بتابستان انجا نتواند بودن مگر بدژ کلاب و دیگر قلاع

On the authority of HAMDALLAH'S work above-quoted from a manuscript in general most admirably accurate, I should have corrected the only copy of HA'FIZ ABRU'S Chronicle that has yet fallen under my inspection; and altered *Kelâb* or *Gulâb* into *Kelât*. But other copies of HAMDALLAH'S Geography authorize us to read the name with HA'FIZ ABRU', and on examining the *Shirâz nâmah* of SHEIKH ZARKU'B, I find that he places in the district of *Arghân*, and consequently not far from *Rishahr*, the دژ کلاب *Dizh-i Gulu'b* (or *Kelâb*). There are instances in Persia, of two or three different places bearing the same name; but *Kelât* is known as a fortress of *Khorasân*, once deemed impregnable, and occupying a space of twelve farsangs in circumference, according to DAULET SHA'H. (See his MS. *Tezkirreh*; account of the poet JA'MI). *Kelât* was besieged by TAIMU'R in 1382.

(19) و در انجا مسجد جامع و منبر باشد

MS. *Tarikh-i-Hâfiz Abrú.*

It is unnecessary to quote on this subject the Persian manuscript *Zeinet al Mejáles*; since the author, usually surnamed MAHAMMEDI, has merely abridged the account given, as above, by HAMDALLAH MASTOUFI, and HAFIZ ABRU' with a slight alteration of words in one passage(20).

The historian and geographer SADEK ISFAHA'NI devotes but half a line to *Rishahr*; and this half line contains an error; for he describes it as a place, not in *Pars*, but in Susiana or *Khúzistán* a bordering province(21).

The fort, generally considered as a work of the Portuguese who had a settlement here, may perhaps, occupy the site of *Farámarz's Castle* above-mentioned. Near it were several upright stones on which inscriptions seemed to have been carved; but I ascertained on close inspection that the strokes resembling letters were only natural indentations.

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(20) In the account of Manuscripts prefixed to this Volume I have noticed the *Zeinet al Mejales* and its author. The passage slightly altered from HA'FIZ ABRU' is

ﻩ خصیتین درحب البلوط بندند

(21) His words are ریشهر موضعیست بخوزستان This error may have originated with some transcriber; but it occurs in two fine copies, which I possess, of the *Tahhkik al erab* (تحقیق الاعراب) one of his rare geographical essays.

OPTIME
POMLAT
BRANOI
OPTIM
ATLANTIC

Well near Bushder.

Rizahr or *Rishahr* is not probably, the most ancient name of this place(*) ; it was once called, as a person at *Bushehr* informed me, after King or Prince BAHMAN ; and one of the wells in its vicinity is styled چاه بهمني *Chah Bahmani*, according to information received on the spot. Of this well I should have here given a representation, from the sketch made by myself, had not Major D'Arcy favoured me with a beautiful drawing, which shews the manner of procuring water, and includes a view of mount *Halilah*, (See Plate XI). But it was not any neighbouring well that supplied the camp with water; a sufficient quantity for daily consumption was brought every morning before sun-rise, from a place distant twelve or thirteen miles, and distributed in *mesheks* مشک or skins, by the tanning of which it was often rendered unpleasant both to the taste and smell. See the *Meshek* (in Miscell. Plate, No. 4), as it appeared suspended between three sticks, near the entrance of each tent.

(*) I shall not endeavour, by any process of etymological torture, to extract a signification from the unpromising name *Ridahr* or *Rizahr* (ریشهر). But if we suppose *Rishahr* equally ancient, and not merely a corruption of the other; and recollect that *Abu shahr*, is a compound, implying "father of the city," (see the first note of this chapter); it seems to me that without any violent stretch of imagination, we may discover the word *Reis* ریس "a chief, or "commander," and *shahr* شهر a "city,' in *Rishahr*; the letters *s* and *sh* naturally coalescing.

Our camp was not far from the remains of a large and handsome building, just pulled down, although but recently erected at considerable cost as a suitable residence for the English agent(23). Within half a mile, were two or three clusters of huts, forming what we denominated Arab villages, as the poor inhabitants retained the manners, dress and language of their Arabian ancestors. The huts were most simply constructed; a few branches of date-trees stuck in the ground, their tops inclined so as to meet, and a covering of very coarse mats, constituted those habitations of which the general height was from four feet to five and a half, the doors being so low that even a child of ten years, unless stooping, could scarcely enter. The men were chiefly clothed in the *Abba*, (عبا) a striped mantle white and brown; they did not wear the high cap or *Kulâh* (كلاه) of black lambskin universal among the Persians; but had twisted round their heads long scarfs, or pieces of chequered stuff, the ends falling on their shoulders. The women were sometimes wrapped, even to the eyes, in great cloaks or sheets; they also wore drawers or trowsers reaching to their ankles, and many were barefooted; of their drawers, as of their cloaks, the colour was principally dark blue. Most of the huts were situated close to palm-trees; and about

(23) Of its extent and beauty I was enabled to judge from a very neat drawing made by Dr. Jukes, and now, through the kindness of Mr. Bruce, in my possession.

Arab Village, p. 109.

Sculptured Tablet, p. 231.

Tomb near Burnejun, p. 257.

them some little fences had been made of twigs and bushes to confine lambs, calves or poultry. I sketched the best village within two or three miles, (See Plate XII). An Arab, reputed to be wealthy, occupied the principal habitation, which, though nearly nine feet high, was a slight structure of palm-branches leaves and mats(74).

When seeking for ancient gems and medals among these Arab villages, I was one day fortunate in obtaining, rather through the influence of my companion, Mr. Bruce, than the offer of money, some engraved agates and carnelions; two *Sassanian*, and several *Cúfi* coins of silver. These, with bits of glass and various beads, composed the necklace of an infant, which a girl lulled to sleep on her bosom, by singing a very sweet and plaintive air. She, and other females present had concealed their faces, as usual, on the first intrusion of strangers. But it must not be imagined that every Eastern veil is the refuge of timid loveliness; they soon allowed me to perceive that, though some possessed fine eyes, yet all the old women were ugly, and few of the young entitled to a more favourable epithet.

(74) Michaelis inquired of the Danish travellers, (See his "Questions," &c. Quest. IX. p. 13. Amst. 1774. 4to) "Les Arabes aiment ils encore a les placer, (leurs "cabanes) de façon que l'entrèe soit ombrageè par un arbre ?".

In the *bazar* (بازار the market-place, or rows of shops) at *Bushehr*, and at every large town in Persia, a multiplicity of small turquoises, and sometimes garnets, rubies and other coloured stones might be purchased, set in silver as rings; the Mohammedans, at least the men, not wearing such ornaments set in gold. The turquoise is an universal favourite; called *firúzeh*. or more properly *pirúzeh*, by the Persians, who believe that to look on it when first awake in the morning, ensures prosperity, and highly strengthens and preserves the sight during the whole day(25). Its efficacy, however, in this respect, does not altogether depend on magnitude; and to the lower classes a *firúzeh* not so large as a grain of wheat (but seldom perfect) is sold with the silver setting for about one shilling. Such rings are daily seen on the coarse fingers of muleteers, grooms, and tent-pitchers; but when large, of a fine uniform colour, and free from blemish, their price is considerable; and I found at *Cazvín* that it was no longer possible to purchase for

(25) To look on the *emerald* also, is considered by Persians as good for the eyes. It appears from Theophrastus that the ancient Greeks entertained this opinion; Η δὲ Σμάραγδος—καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὄμματα ἀγαθή. In the Classical Journal, (No. I. p. 65 March 1810) some observations on the Emerald may be found, which I derived chiefly from the *Jukher Namah*, a Persian MS. in my own collection, and below more fully quoted. Those observations, from motives of secresy which no longer exist, I communicated under a borrowed character and the signature of Philosmaragdos.

half a crown, like Olearius when there (in 1637) turquoises equal in bigness to peas or beans(26).

This ingenious traveller, and after him Chardin, Tavernier, and others, mention *Nishapúr* and *Firúzkúh* as yielding turquoises most abundantly; but I could not learn, whilst at *Firúzkúh*, in 1812, that it was then remarkable for such a production. The *Firúzehs* of *Nishapúr* were more excellent than any others, as all accounts agree in stating. A manuscript treatise on precious stones, entitled the *Juáher Námah*, enumerates three places besides, which furnish mines of turquoise(27). HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI says that the *Firúzeh* when he lived, (between four and five hundred years ago), was chiefly worn by women, and considered (as it is now) inferior in value

(26) See Olearius's "Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors," &c. translated into English by Davies, p. 254. Lond. 1662; originally published in German.

(27) These are at *Khojend* (خجند) in *Mawer al 'nahr*, or Transoxiana; at *Shebávek*, (شباوک), in *Kirmán*, and in a mountain of *Azerbaijún*, where the mine was discovered about fifty years before AHMED BEN ABD AL AZI'Z, (أحمد بن عبد العزيز) composed his Treatise on Jeweh. At what period he flourished I have not been able to ascertain, but we may regard him as a modern author. The mine at *Nishapúr* (نيشاپور) he describes as most celebrated from early ages for that particular kind of turquoise, entitled *Abu Isháki* (ابواسحاقي) which, says he, در خزانه سلاطين سزاوار باشد "is worthy of a place among the treasures of "Emperors." And not without reason; if, as he adds, it averted evil from those who wore it, conciliated the favour of princes, augmented wealth, preserved the sight, ensured victory over an adversary, and banished all unpleasant dreams. The ancient sages, when first they beheld a new moon, fixed their eyes, says he, on the *Firúzeh* immediately after.

to the *Zumrud* or emerald(28). SEHEM AD' DI'N, an author of the eleventh century, tells us that, "*Pirúzeh*" (for so he writes it according to the original Persian orthography) "being a stone without brilliancy, was not reckoned fit "for the decoration of kings; but on account of the "name, (which signifies victorious or fortunate) it was "regarded as auspicious and lucky"(29). Eastern mineralogists always rank the turquoise among stones; late experiments have cast some doubt on the propriety of such a classification(30).

My antiquarian researches commenced on the first day of our arrival at *Bushehr*. Not one valuable

(28) زنان بیشتر دارند—و فیروزه بقیمت فروتر از زمردست
See the MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. Part I. Chap. of Minerals, Jewels, &c. under the head of *Firúzedje* فیروزج as the Arabians write this name.

(29) پیروزه سنگی است—و چون هوا تیره باشد و رنگ نیک ننماید و لباس پادشاهان نیست اما از بهر نام بفال دارند
Such are the words of SEHEM AD' DI'N, whose *Nozhat Námah Ellaïy* was written in the eleventh century of our era; it is an extraordinary and valuable manuscript, comprised in one large folio volume, which I fortunately procured at *Isfahán*, and have noticed in another part of this work. The libraries of Europe do not, most probably, furnish a second copy. Mine was transcribed in 1304.

(30) The ingenious Mr. Hill informs us in his notes on Theophrastus, (p. 94, Lond. oct. 1746), that the turquoise is, "in reality no other than the bones and teeth of ani- "mals, accidentally lodged near copper mines, or places where there is a cupreous "matter in the earth," &c. See also his "Letter on the colours of the Sapphire and "Ruby," read before the Royal Society in 1746. The Greek lithologist whom he so ably illustrates, seems to have known the turquoise as ελέφας ὀρυκτος or fossil ivory.

manuscript could I procure in the *Bazar* or shops of that town; but they furnished many gems and medals; to these Mr. Bruce, Mr. Taylor and Mr. Henshaw obligingly added several which they had collected; and from Mr. Martin I received two marble fragments of Persepolitan sculptures, and three pieces of baked clay, covered with lines in the *arrow-headed* or *nail-headed* character, that has so long baffled all those most expert in the art of deciphering. These bricks were found on the place where Babylon once stood, and shall be delineated and more fully described, in another part of this work.

Of recent discoveries made near *Bushehr*, I learned some particulars, which (as my information was derived from authentick sources) shall be here mentioned. They relate to people who inhabited the Persian coast, long, probably, before the introduction of Mohammed's religion or perhaps the establishment of Arabian colonies; a circumstance affording subject for curious inquiry, although it may seem difficult to fix its date with precision(31).

(31) I think it probable that the Arabs, however limited their line of territory, have occupied, from very early times, many places on the Persian coast suitable to a race more fond of maritime commerce and nautical enterprise than the aboriginal inhabitants. TABRI, who in the ninth century of our era, compiled his Chronicle from records which, we must fear, have long since perished; mentions an independent state,

I. Ruins have been lately observed near the village of *Abídah*, (distant from *Bushehr* six or seven farsangs) among which was a stair-case, leading to vaults or chambers, considered as sepulchral, and containing inscriptions in letters different from any at present generally understood by Arabs or Persians.

II. The peasants when digging frequently expose to view, remains of canals, aqueducts, and ancient wells, larger in size, and in construction far better, than those of modern make.

III. Engraved stones, once probably set in rings: others resembling seals: beads, coins, arrow-heads and various things of which the use can only be conjectured,

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which he styles "an ancient kingdom" ملکي قديم comprising a succession of towns situate on the sea-coast of *Pars* and *Kirman*. از حد شبرذا سواحل برلب دريا هم كرمان و هم پارس And the sovereign who ruled this *mulk e saahel* ملک سواحلي or "kingdom of the shores" possessed an army and ample treasure, but fell beneath the hand of ARDESHIR, the Artaxares, or Artaxerxes of our historians From circumstances in FABRI's account and in other manuscripts, I should regard the vanquished chief himself as a Persian of ancient and illustrious descent; but those who inhabited his sea-port towns may have been, as in subsequent ages, and at present, chiefly of Arabian origin. An opportunity for discussing this subject more particularly will offer itself in the course of a future Memoir on the state of Persia during the Arsacidian dynasty, and on those numerous petty princes who seem to have divided most of that country among themselves, barely acknowledging as their superior the nominal "King of Kings. Respecting those princes, some old, and as I believe, authentick manuscripts, have furnished many interesting anecdotes; and the period when they lived is one of the most obscure in Persian history.

are often found; also cylinders exhibiting strange devices, (perhaps talismanick amulets) such as are preserved in some, although few, of our best European collections.

IV. Bricks are dug up, like those, (it was said) found near *Hilleh* among the ruins of Babylon, both plain, and inscribed with characters.

V. The mountain of *Halilah* حليله (more properly called, as I understood, *Khormuz* or *Khurmúdje)* exhibits considerable vestiges of buildings extremely ancient(22).

VI. Out of the plain near *Bushehr* many vases have been taken; formed of ill-baked clay, and filled with seeds of the plant *túlah* or mallows which soon decay when affected by the fresh air. Tradition says that the *Gabrs* or Fire-worshippers kept those seeds under their houses from the respect in which they superstitiously held the mallows; supposing it to turn, like themselves, in adoration towards the Sun. That it is one of those plants which follow the Sun's diurnal course by the obversion and inclination of their leaves or flowers, we know from general observation, and the works of many besides

(22) According to Niebuhr *Kormudsch* قورموج (Voyage en Arabie. Tome II. p. 77, 81. Amst. 1780) But regulating the orthography by my ear, I should write, خورموج or خورموج *Khurmúdje* in preference.

Salmasius(53). But its medicinal properties so amply described by Pliny, (Nat. Hist. Lib. XX. cap. 21) might have given it a claim to domestick preservation(54).

VII. Earthen urns, containing the remains of human bodies, are said to abound on the plain of *Bushehr*; and persons reside here who, with very little trouble, can indicate the spot where they lie, although buried in sand.

Such is the information that I received; and my curiosity was strongly excited on the subject of those urns containing human bones; for, whilst engaged during several years in the study of Eastern antiquities, I devoted

(53) Folia plantæ floresque suos circumagere dicuntur, quæ tota die solem inclinationem sequuntur, et ad ejus aspectum eos obvertunt, ut heliotropium intybum, et "*malvam* et alia multa videmus." De Homon. Hyles latricæ. p. 20. Traj. ad Rhen. 1689.

(54) *Tûlah* (تولة) is the name of a *flower* or *herb* called also (نان كلاغ) *nán e-Kelágh* and (خبازي) *Khubázi*. The Persian name *nán e-Kelágh*, and the Arabick خبز الغراب *Khebz alghorâb*, signify "crows or raven's bread." *Khubázi* is a species of *Khatmi* (خطمي) and called by the *Shirázians* (خطمي كوچك) *Khatmi Kuchik*, ("the small mallows"). It grows in moist ground, and is useful when applied as a cataplasm to parts of the body stung by wasps or hornets. Such is the concentrated information which I have derived on this subject from various passages scattered through the MS. *Berhán Kattea*. It appears according to an Arabian author, quoted by the learned Hyde (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. pp. 508. 511. edit. prim), that a plant resembling the *Khubázi* (or mallow) was used in religious ceremonies by the ancient Persians; and he mentions one of its medicinal properties which alone would highly recommend it even to their *Musulmán* descendants. We may suppose, not unreasonably, that Pythagoras learned something superstitious or mysterious respecting mallows, from his Magian masters, the Chaldean and Persian sages under whom he studied at Babylon. See his thirty-eighth *symbol*, and the explanation of it, in Iamblich. Protrept. cap. ult.

particular attention to funeral customs and sepulchral rites; and was induced to believe that among the Persians of remote ages, many bodies were interred not only in a natural and integral state, but defended by the art of embalmers against the injuries of time; although it cannot be doubted that the modern *Gabrs* and *Parsis* in allowing carcasses to be lacerated and disjointed by birds or beasts, imitate the example of their Magian forefathers who (as we learn from classical authority) did not, in general, cover the bones of their dead with earth, until they had been denuded of flesh by carnivorous animals(*).

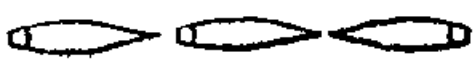
To gratify the desire which I expressed, Mr. Bruce soon procured me an opportunity of inspecting three ancient urns. Some Arabs whom he directed to assist in the search, within less than half an hour, and not four hundred yards from the camp, discovered one, buried under ground about two feet. Whilst clearing it with my hands from sand, I perceived the pointed end of another; and the workmen accidentally broke a third, the pieces of which falling off at each side, left the contents adhering together in a mass of blackish and moist-looking earth.

(*) As I must resume this subject, it will be sufficient here to indicate the authority of Herodotus, (Lib. I). Cicero, (Lib. I. Tusc. Quæst). Strabo, (Lib XV). Justin, (Lib XLI cap. 3). Theodoret, (Medela Passionum Græcarum, Serm. IX). Procopius, (De Bello Persico Lib. I. cap. XII). Agathias, (Hist. Lib. II).

This, however, when touched with the finger, crumbled away and exposed to view a skull, and the other bones of a human body.

Each urn had a pointed end, and at its mouth a bowl or basin without bottom; not united to the main part by means of agglutination, but very closely fitted, and supported in its place by the general bed of earth. In the Miscellaneous Plate, (No. 5, *a*), I have exactly represented the form of those urns and basins as they appeared before the parts were separated. The same Plate, (No. 5, *b*), shews the empty basin, viewed on the inside.

Those urns lay horizontally, not parallel with each other, but on a straight line, and in the direction of East and West. So, I understood, were placed all the others found within several miles; and one old Arab assured me that he had himself dug up above an hundred. The first urn's pointed extremity was nearly in contact with the head or basin of the second, but the points of the second and third were almost joined. Their relative positions may be best illustrated by the following scheme:—



Those which were perfect I removed to my tent, and in presence of Mr. Sharp, the surgeon, and other English gentlemen, immediately examined the contents of one,

and afterwards sketched its form, as in the Miscellaneous Plate, (No. 5, *c*). In this urn we could only perceive such a quantity of sand, as, with the bones of a full-grown person, completely filled, and rendered it very heavy. The skull was placed about the middle or widest part; not, as we expected, in the basin, which contained only sand. Of this urn the greatest circumference was two feet nine inches; its length three feet four inches, including the bowl or basin, which, separately, was near eight inches.

The other I kept some time with the intention of bringing it to Europe in its original state; but apprehending much inconvenience from its weight and bulk, and happening to break off the point, whilst lifting it from the ground under my bed, I was content with a few pieces; the two bowls or basins (entire) of both urns, and one of the skulls, I also packed up and have brought to England.

The three urns, made of clay, about one third of an inch thick, were alike in form: that of which the dimensions are above given, exceeded the others in length by two or three inches, and its bowl was the largest; all were solid at the pointed end; but the bowls, as I before mentioned, were without bottoms. In the urn last emptied and examined, the bones of a child, as Mr. Sharp believed, had been enclosed, together with an adult's of

small size. We imagined that they might have belonged to a mother and her infant(36).

The insides appeared blackish, and had evidently been coated with some bituminous substance; but the urns no where exhibited inscriptions, nor any other mark by which their degree of antiquity might be ascertained. To enclose in such receptacles the remains of human beings, has not at any time been the practice of Mohammedans. It is equally unknown among the *Gabrs* and *Parsis*, the Fire-worshippers of Persia and of India, who at certain periods collect together, the bones of all their dead, which had

(36) Among the ancient Greeks, "only those that were joined by near relation or "affection, were usually buried together; it being thought inhuman to part those in "Death, whom no accidents of Life could separate." See the "Archæologia Græca" of Bishop Potter, (Book IV. chap. 6) and the passages which he adduces from Agathias, Ovid, Euripides, and Homer. He also remarks that while the Athenians seldom placed the bones of two persons in one coffin or urn; "the Megarensians commonly put two, "three or four carcasses into the same sepulchre." This circumstance had been before noticed (from Pausanias) by Francis Rous, a learned Oxonian, in his "Archæ-"ologia Attica" (Lib. V. cap. 29) dated 1637, and augmented by Zachary Bogan; a work of considerable merit, although the various modern compilations on Grecian antiquities, have in general banished it to the most obscure or distant corner of our libraries. I quote the ninth edition printed in 1685, (Lond. 4to). The author mentions (p. 245) that Admetus desired to be interred with his wife in the same grave;

Εν τοισιν αυταις γαρ μ' επισκήψω κέδροις
Σοι τε θανειν πλευρας. Eurip Alc. v. 365.

"A wish" adds he, "not unreasonable, seeing the thing desired was so usual both "among the Greeks and the Romans too. St. Austin's own mother was of the same "mind; for why?"

"Quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit,
"Componi tumulo non invideatis eodem."

(Ovid. Met. Lib. IV. fab. 4).

been exposed, and cast them promiscuously into a pit: When the Greek historian Procopius wrote, (early in the sixth century of our era), the Persians appear to have scrupulously abstained from concealing human bodies by interment, leaving them all for dogs, and birds of prey(37). Agathias, another historian and not many years later, says that human bodies were universally consigned to birds and beasts by the Persians, who deemed it unlawful to conceal the dead, either under ground, or in a case or cover of any description(38). Yet that sepulchral urns were occasionally used among them, is affirmed by MI'R YAHIAY, in a passage which D'Herbelôt, seems to have amplified, according to his French translation; and of which Gaulmin's latin version does not perfectly correspond to the original text, at least as it appears in my two copies of the *Lubb al Towarikh*; manuscripts not particularly inaccurate. These having mentioned the sculptures and royal tombs in the mountain of *Istakhr*, inform us that "the graves or sepulchres of those Persian kings who existed "before *Islám*, (or the introduction of Mohammed's religion) "were of three kinds; some bodies being deposited "in natural caves, or *dakhmahs* contrived in mountains;

(37) Καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τῇ γῇ οὐ πώποτε ἀφιᾶσιν ἀλλ' ἁπασι τε ῥᾴστον καὶ ἐνεργὲς ἀπαντας. Procop. de Bello Pers. Lib. I. c. 12.

(38) Θάψαι γάρ τινι ἐμβαλεῖν ἢ λάρναξι τοὺς τεθνεῶτας, ἢ καὶ τῇ γῇ καταχωσαι, νόμος ἀνοσιος.—Agath. Hist. Lib. II. p. 66. Lugd. Bat. 1594.

"others between rising grounds, in vallies which were "afterwards filled with such a quantity of stones, as to "become a general level, (or, as one copy expresses it, until "they formed a pile or heap, (چنانکه تلي کشتي) and some "having been put into urns or jars, were preserved in the "ground"(39). Our author, it is true, merely describes in this passage, the different modes of *royal* sepulture, respecting which, however, I find a considerable variation between him and two more ancient writers; although from one of them he has freely borrowed much general information, and, in some parts of his history, whole sentences with scarcely any verbal alteration. Yet this historian, the most ancient of all three, does not allude exclusively to the bodies of kings, or illustrious person-

(39) و گورهاي ملوک عجم که پيش از اسلام بودند بسه گونه باشد بعضي در غارها و دخمها که در کوهها ساخته و چندين درما بين کوه نهاده اند و سنگ بسيار بر ان ريخته چنانچه يکجا گشته و بعضي درخمها نهاده اند و خم در زمين بقيه کرد

MS. *Lubb al tawarikh*, (in the history of GUSHTASP, among the *Caianian* kings). M. D' Herbelôt translating this passage, notices the tumular monuments "en forme de "petites collines," and adds "comme les Pyramides d'Egypte, qui sont les tombeaux "des Rois de ce pays là." (Biblioth. Orient. in *Kischtasb*). M. Gaulmin's latin version of the *Lubb al tawarikh* was published by Thevenôt, the elder, in his "Relations" of Travels, &c. (Tome IV); but is not found, I believe in every copy of that work. It was also printed in Busching's *Magazin*, a celebrated German compilation, (Vol. XVII), as I learn from extracts offered by different writers, especially Professor Tychsen of Rostock, who in his Essay entitled "De Cuneatis Inscriptionibus Persepolitanis Lucu- "bratio." (Rost. 1798, *p.* 74), thus quotes M. Gaulmin's translation of the Persian passage given at the head of this note, from my own two MSS. "cujus mons (*Istekhr*) "ob regum Persiæ sepulcra, quorum alia in cavernis, quæ antiquissima sunt; alia in "vallibus ingenti lapidum acervo adinstar collis aggesto conspiciuntur; alia denique "ollis in terra conditis consistunt; valde celebratur."

ages, if confidence may be placed in my single copy of this work; which, with the accounts given by other Eastern authors on the same subject, I shall examine in a chapter devoted to the antiquities of *Istakhr*, or Persepolis.

Meanwhile, considering the historical obscurity of *Bushehr*, and the number of urns found near this place; their simple form, cheap materials, and total want of ornament; we cannot easily be induced to imagine that they enclosed the bones of great or wealthy persons. I could not learn that such urns had ever been discovered in any other part of Persia, through which the various directions of my travels led me; but it is probable that future researches may bring some to light amidst the ruins of ancient Ctesiphon(*).

I must here acknowledge many doubts concerning that vase which the late venerable Tychsen of Rostoch, believed to have once contained the *burnt* or *pounded* bones of a Parthian king, the great Arsaces. But for the comminution of human bones with mallets or ham-

(*) Mr Jackson proceeding up the Tigris, in 1797, passed by the ruins of Ctesiphon which that river had considerably undermined. "The banks being near ten feet "perpendicular," says he "above the surface of the water, we saw the foundations of "several ancient buildings, which were chiefly of brick, and so strongly cemented "together, as often to overhang the water. Here were also visible a great many "*earthen jars*: some half exposed, others ready to fall into the river; and some of "them were of singular construction." See his "Journey from India towards "England," &c. p. 86. Lond. 1799.

mers, the learned Professor could not find a precedent in Persia; and he knew that the subjects of Arsaces would have deemed it an impious contamination of fire, were they to place it in contact with the carcass of a man. Yet he thought that an exception might have been made in favour of the king. His arguments, however ingenious, do not perfectly convince me; but I must reserve them for discussion in another place(41).

We did not observe, on the twenty-first of March, any particular rejoicings to celebrate the entrance of Sol into Aries; which modern Persians, like the ancient, notwithstanding a total change of religion, welcome with various ceremonies constituting their festival called *Nawrúz*. The people however, of *Bushehr*, descended chiefly from Arabian tribes, feel but little interest in commemorating that hour when the illustrious JEMSHI'D, eight hundred years before our era, ascended the royal throne at *Istakhr*, or Persepolis; although it has been considered, since this

(41) "Parthi mortuorum cadavera haud concremabant, &c." "Sed alia hujus mortis ratio mihi esse videtur in divi cadavere," &c. See the Essay already quoted, "De "cuneatis inscript. Persep." (p. 30). A representation of the jar or vase to which he assigned the remains of Arsaces, may be seen in Caylus's "Recueuil D'Antiquités." (Tome V. pl. xxvi). Whatever may be my opinion concerning the supposed *Urn of Arsaces*, I must ever name Professor Tychsen with respect for his learning, and gratitude for the approbation of my first work which he manifested publickly and by many private letters; the distinguished veteran in literature thereby encouraging to greater efforts one personally unknown, a young man at that time, and self-instructed in the Eastern languages.

time, as commencing the spring, or the year; and its name (*Nawrúz*), signifies the "new day"(42).

The indifference manifested in respect to the *nawruz* was censured by some natives of *Shiráz* and *Ispahan*; who, (as their conversations on our journey evinced), scarcely thought themselves in Persia until they had reached *Cazerún*; and always mentioned the Arabs with contempt, boasting of their own political and physical superiority. We may naturally suppose that they were not held in equal estimation by the inhabitants of *Bushehr*, who related various anecdotes representing *Shiráz* and *Isfahán* as cities wherein it would be almost impossible to find one virtuous or worthy man.

The promised *Mehmándár* had not yet appeared; and the Ambassador apprehending that his delay was wilfully protracted, resolved to set off on the twenty-seventh. JAAFAR KHA'N, having repeatedly despatched couriers to *Shiráz*, declared that he would himself attend as

(42) As I must notice more fully the *naw-ruz* (نوروز) of 1812; it is only necessary to observe here, that JEMSHI'D's institution of that festival is placed by Sir William Jones at *eight hundred*, and by Bailly and D'Hancarville at *three thousand two hundred and nine* years before the Christian era. If one was too sparing of centuries in his calculation, the others appear extravagantly profuse in theirs. See Jones's "Short Hist. of Persia," prefixed to his Nadir Shah, p. xli. (Lond. oct. 1773). Bailly, "Hist. de l'Astron. Anc." p. 354, &c. D'Hancarville, "Recherches sur les Antiq. de la Perse," p. 116. (at the end of his Rech. sur les Arts de la Grece).

mehmandár, should not one regularly appointed arrive before that day; and many camels and mules were sent forward with articles of heavy baggage. Whilst employed in moving and packing these, some porters of the *Tang a sír* (تنگسیر) or *Tangestán* (تنگستان) "the country of narrow and difficult passes," (a district near *Bushehr*) displayed very considerable exertions of bodily strength. One, unassisted, brought from the town to our camp, the body and most other parts of a curricle in its case; forming a load that three persons accustomed to carry moderate weights, could scarcely lift; he also pushed a cask of wine up several steps, to do which, the united efforts of three or four others had failed. This man, however, was reckoned the strongest of a race distinguished for muscular powers.

The ambassador had received many visits, both of ceremony and business, from JAAFAR KHA'N; and returned them by proceeding one day in state to *Bushehr* with all the English gentlemen, the Indian dragoons, and a multitude of Persian servants on horseback and on foot. He was welcomed in due form by the governor at his house; and after the usual refreshments of coffee, pipes, tea, and rose-water, returned to the camp.

Here we had much pleasure in seeing daily some friends from the ship. One of them informed us that

JAAFAR KHA'N had lately sent a servant on board, to request four bristles of a hog, which as a Persian afterwards acknowledged, were to compose, with four hairs of the young lion's mane, and other ingredients, a charm preculiarly efficacious in curing the diseases of children(45).

During our residence near *Bushehr*, we were abundantly supplied with mutton and lamb; veal, poultry and eggs. Some beef offered here for sale, appeared so disgusting that none of it was ever placed on the Ambassador's table. But this want we scarcely felt; for the neighbouring sea furnished a great variety of excellent fish. The prawns were larger than any which we had seen elsewhere.

It is natural that the inhabitants of a coast yielding little besides dates, should regard fish, not as a luxury, but as the main support of life. A Persian work above-quoted (p. 205), represents fish and dates as among the chief articles of commerce (and we might add, of food) at the adjacent port, *Rishahr*. Every account which I heard, convinced me that the Greek title of *Ichthyophagi* might have been bestowed by Nearchus on the maritime inhabitants of provinces, far

(45) We read in the old Persian MS. which I have before quoted, *Ellaiy Namah*, (Section 12), that women during parturition, may derive considerable benefit from wearing a charm composed of certain ingredients made into a little ball, which must be "perforated with a hog's bristle." و بموي خوک سوراخ کنند

beyond the tract which he assigns to those peculiarly styled in his journal, "Fish-eaters"(44). The learned illustrator of Nearchus's Voyage has already referred to many travellers, whose accounts confirm this opinion(45). I shall, however add the evidence of two other Europeans, to prove that from *Basrah* to *Hormuz* all those who occupy the sea-coasts, principally live on fish(46). And manuscript dictionaries describe the bread or food called *Mahiabáh* or *Máhiáshnah* used chiefly among the people of *Lár;* who prepare it

(44) The region of *Ichthyophagi* commenced at *Malana* near Cape *Arabah* and ended between the ancient *Dagasira* and the place now called Cape *Jask*, or more properly *Jaskk*. See the Hist. Indic. of Arrian, who allows (in cap. 20) ten thousand *stadia* for the whole length of this coast, which Strabo computes at only seven thousand four hundred. (Geogr. Lib. XV).

(45) See Dr. Vincent's "Voyage of Nearchus." p. 231 et. seq. (sec. edit).

(46) I shall first quote an old Venetian traveller *Gasparo Balbi*, through the medium of "Purchas his Pilgrimage; or Relations of the World," &c. p. 659, (Lond. 1617. "folio). "The coastes of Persia as they sailed in this sea, seemed as a parched "wildernesse, without tree or grasse; those few people that dwell there, and in the "ilands of Lar and Cailon live on fish, being in manner themselves transformed into "the nature of fishes. So excellent swimmers are they, that seeing a vessel in the seas "though stormie and tempestuous, they will swimme to it five or sixe miles to beggr "almes. They eate their fish with rice, having no bread: their cats, hennes, dogges "and other creatures which they keepe have no other dyet." Nieuhoff who travelled in 1662, says that about *Gambroon*, "the common people make use of dates instead "of bread or rice; for it is observable that the ordinary food of the Indians all "along the coast from *Basora to Sinde*, is dates and fish dried in the air; the heads "and guts of the fishes they mix with date-stones and boil it altogether with a little "salt water, which they give at night to the cows after they come out of the field "where they meet with very little herbage." See Churchill's Collect. of Voyages, Vol. II. p. 230. (first edition).

from fish, (more particularly a small kind found near *Hormuz*) by exposing it to the sun(47). Strabo and Arrian relate, that the ancient Ichthyophagi, made into bread, the fishes which they had dried, or roasted in a similar manner(48).

I am induced to trace the subject of Persian fish from small to great, by a circumstance which happened whilst the Lion lay at anchor near *Bushehr*. A man, one of those employed in cooking for the crew, having suddenly died, his body was removed in a boat from the ship, and at half a league's distance, committed to the deep. Some days after, in a shark of considerable size, taken near the same place, part of the cook's body was found; easily recognised by certain marks(49).

To some formidable creature of the Persian Gulf, so celebrated for its pearls, SAADI, who was born in a province which it bounds, very probably alludes, when he says,

(47) See the MS. *Berhan Kattea* in the words ماهيابه *Mahiábah*, ماهي اشنه *Mahi asknah*, ماهيانه *Máhianah*, ماهياه *Mahyáeah*, and ماهيواه *Mahyeeah*. See also the MS. *Jehángiri*, in *Mahyeeah*.

(48) Ἰχθύας ἐν ἡλίῳ κατατήκοντας. Strab. Lib. XV. Ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ ἀναίνοντας, &c. Arr. Hist. Ind. c. 29.

(49) This circumstance occurred after I had gone ashore; but the particulars were communicated to me by gentlemen then on board the Lion; more particularly Mr. Marshall, since first lieutenant of the Havannah frigate, (in 1815, at Portsmouth).

"If a diver should think of the *nahang's* jaw; he would "never grasp a precious pearl"(50). By *nahang*, however, the "crocodile," is generally understood; but according to the allusion which I have supposed probable, that word might be better translated "a shark;" and this interpretation is justified by an excellent dictionary, which, in the first explanation, defines *nahang* thus; "the name of a fish that devours human beings(51).

We learn from indisputable authority, that whales have been lately seen in this Gulf, and in the great river beyond its extremity most remote from the ocean, even near *Basrah*(52). This confirms what SEHEM AD' DI'N related, between seven and eight hundred years ago, concerning the *Wál* (وال) or "*Whale*," a fish which according to his account sometimes "exceeded fifty *gaz* in length," (each *gaz* being forty inches of our English measure). "When "it happens," says he "that a Whale is carried by the tide "among the streams of *Basrah*; from their narrowness (in

(50) غواص کر اندیشه کند کام نهنگ
هرگز نکند درّ گرانمایه بچنگ
Gulistán, Book III.

(51) "Nomen piscis homines comedentis. "See the Lexicon of Castell, (column 540), in compiling which from the *Farhang i Neamet ullah* and other Persian manuscripts, he was assisted by the learned Golius.

(52) The information communicated by Sir Harford Jones to Dr. Vincent, may be found in the "Voyage of Nearchus," p. 399. (sec. edit).

"proportion to his bulk) he cannot turn back, or extricate "himself." Then, continues our author, the people come, and having killed him with arrows and great swords, cut the body in pieces and fill many vessels with oil extracted from his head; but this fish is not eaten by any besides the *Zingians* or Ethiopians; and he notices the Ambergris which it sometimes yields(52).

One island of this Gulf, the *Jezirah Wál* (which may be translated the "Whale Island,") is described in a Persian manuscript. "Here the tide or reflux of "this sea," says the author, "leaves from time to "time on the dry ground, a certain fish of great bulk;" and this, adds he, supplies the inhabitants during the whole year with oil; used by some as part of their food and by others in burning(53). Ancient writers

(52) و طولش پنجاه گز بیفزاید—چون اتفاق افتد در جویهای بلاد بصره اید بوقت مد و جز برو نتواند کشستن که جوی ان پهنا ندارد که او اندر ان برگردد
MS. *Nozhat Nameh Elleiy.*

(53) جزیره وال—کاف کاه چون این دریا مد کند ماهی عظیم بخشکی بماند
See the MS. *Ajaïeb al beldán*, (Chap. of Islands). Castell in his Lexicon (col. 647) by expressing وال in English letters "*A Whale*" seems to mark the resemblance between our word and the Persian *Wál*. In some geographical manuscripts the name of this island is written اوال *Awál*; so we find it likewise in ABU'L FEDA's "Arabia," (See Hudson's Minor Geogr. Vol. III. p. 3), and in the maps which I have given in this Volume from the MS. *Súr al beldán*. (See Plates VIII and IX). Niebuhr most erroneously writing عوال *Awal* (Descr. de l'Arabie. p. 284. Copenh. 1773), adopts the bad spelling of an *Abushehr* merchant which has misled him on other occasions, in preference to the authority of that celebrated geographer, the illustrious ABU'L FEDA.

have noticed large whales which, near the entrance of this gulf, terrified Alexander's Greek sailors(55); who afterwards measured one of almost incredible magnitude found on the shore within a few leagues, or perhaps miles, of the place where *Bushehr* now stands(56). But in the course of their memorable navigation, they beheld creatures still more extraordinary, according to some Eastern writers; who, confounding the Macedonian conqueror with his admirals and generals, (See my remarks on a former occasion, p. 54), trace the history of a naval expedition, in which may be recognised, however distorted and exaggerated, many circumstances of classical authenticity; these I have examined in a work, yet unpublished, on the subject of Alexander.

Plate XII. represents a specimen of modern sculpture, given to me at *Bushehr* by Mr. Bruce. It is a tablet (eight inches long, five and a quarter broad, and about half an inch thick) of the fine, white, and almost diaphanous stone produced near *Yezd*; containing in bold relief on one side, a resemblance of the famous *Lúti*, who having placed one upon another, five or six pieces of

(55) Strabo mentions how they were alarmed at the immensity of those whales.—τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἰχθύων (Lib. XV), and Arrian, Κήτεα δὲ μεγάλα (Hist. Indic. c. 30), which they drove away by shouting striking the sea with their oars, and sounding trumpets.

(56) They reported that it was in length fifty cubits.—Καὶ φάναι εἶναι πήχεων πεντήκοντα. (Arrian. Hist. Ind. c. 39).

wood nearly conical, teaches his goat to jump and stand on the highest, yet not throw any down. The people of *Isfahán* were daily amused with this exhibition in the great *Meidán* or publick square; and I find that their ancestors witnessed one exactly similar in the same place, according to a view given by Kæmpfer who was there in 1684(57). It appears to have been also a favourite among the inhabitants of other countries(58). The four-pointed hat, has been incidentally noticed on a former occasion, (p. 184). It was once generally worn in the province of *Curdistán*: but at present seems a peculiar badge of those mountebanks, jesters or buffoons, called *Lúties*. Respecting the derivation of this name, two very ingenious Persians whom I consulted, differed in opinion; mine shall be offered in another chapter, with the delineation of a *Luti*-hat, or "fools-cap," remarkable for some extraordinary ornaments, and many little tinkling bells attached to its four points(59). The line enclosing this figure on the sculp-

(57) Amœnit. Exotic. p. 170.

(58) Sandys when at Cairo in 1611, saw both dogs and goats, thus trained. "Relation of a Journey," p. 126, (third edit. 1632). And the figure of an Arab, who had taught his goat to perform the same trick, is given by one of our latest and most accomplished travellers; Dr Clarke (Trav. Vol. II. p. 605).

(59) FERHA'D, so conspicuous in Persian Romance, contemporary with KHUSRAU PARVI'Z; or Chosroes (at the close of the sixth century), and that monarch's rival in the affections of fair SHIRI'N, was a native of *Curdistán*, and therefore is generally

tured tablet, is waved and indented according to a pattern universal throughout Persia; being found in stucco, gilding or colours on the walls, ceilings and compartments of rooms, and on the fronts of fire-places; it is seen on carpets and curtains; on the frames of pictures and other articles of furniture.

This tablet presents on the other side, figures of two *Kushtigírs* (کشتیگیر) or wrestlers, whom an older man, the *ustád*, (استاد) a professor and teacher, instructs in one of the three hundred and sixty *bands*, (بند) or tricks by which an antagonist may, without a blow, be extended backwards on the ground. He also prevents any unfair advantage on either side. Chardin mentions a story as related by one of the company at a wedding-feast, concerning the wrestler who having taught a pupil every trick of his art except one, was enabled by

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represented with the four-pointed hat, by modern painters. Thus he appears in the illuminations of various manuscripts; on the walls of palaces; and on the paste-board boxes and pen-cases sold at *Isfahán* and *Shíráz*; yet he is not so distinguished in some pictures comparatively ancient and much more valuable for their execution. Many poets have celebrated the loves of FERHA'D and SHIRI'N. In some beautiful manuscripts of my collection, the verses on this subject by NIZA'MI and HA'TIFI, are illustrated with splendid paintings, in which FERHA'D does not wear the four-pointed bonnet. He may, however, be almost always recognised by the *Tíshah* تیشه or pick-axe, with which, for the sake of his mistress, he fractured or excavated enormous rocks, and according to tradition, reduced the rugged face of Mount *Bístún* into those extraordinary sculptures for which it is still remarkable. "With *his tísha*," says the Poet NIZA'MI, "he rendered the hardest stone, as it were, soft like wax."

بتیشه سنگ خارا میکند موم

Persian Picture No. 5

this reservation of skill, to overcome the presumptuous young man, when, confiding in youth and superior strength, he had insultingly challenged his master to contend before the Viceroy or Governor(60). Chardin might have recollected that this story was borrowed from the first book of SAADI's *Gulistán*. I must acknowledge, however, that it is not found in the copy which once belonged to that ingenious French traveller, and has been during many years in my possession; a plain manuscript, bearing his name in the first page, and illustrated with several of his short marginal notes(61). But, in a handsome copy which I procured at *Shiráz*, (where it was transcribed about the year 1742), this anecdote affords subject for a picture, accurately imitated in Plate XIII; representing the contest near its close, when the master-wrestler having by means of his reserved sleight (or "*tour derobé*" as Chardin styles it) raised the ungrateful scholar high with both hands, prepared to fling him on the ground(62). We see the king, some of his nobles and other

(60) Voyages en Perse, &c. Tome II. p. 246. Rouen 1723.

(61) Some of these were published in the "Oriental Collections." Vol. I.

(62) The Persian lines inserted in the picture, allude to this circumstance, and immediately precede the moral of SAADI's story. They appear in our types thus,

بالاي سر برد و فرو كوفت غريو از خلق برامد ملک استادرا خلعت داد و پسررا جزر
كرد گفت كه اي خداوند از كشتي دقيقه مانده بود كه از من دريغ ميداشت گفت
از بهر چنين روز

and I shall here translate them, adding the conclusion, for which the penman had not room, in Italick letters; "He lifted him above his head and dashed him down. "Loud exclamations ascended from the people. The king bestowed an honourable

spectators whom SAADI mentions; but the painter has introduced two supernumerary *kushtigírs* or *pahlevâns*, (پہلوان) one of whom whirls over his head, those ponderous wooden clubs called *míl* (میل) above slightly noticed (p. 190); instruments of a favourite but very laborious exercise hereafter more fully described.

Reverting to the marble tablet and Plate XII; I must remark a conformity that appears between the Persian wrestling and the Grecian "orthiapaly" or "orthopaly;" and however inferior in execution to the beautiful remains of ancient art, this sculpture may remind an antiquary of many classical groups, which it would more strongly resemble had the master-wrestler been furnished with a branch or wand(62). The tablet was carved by an eminent artist of *Ispahán*, who had lately made for the king a beautiful throne from materials of the same kind.

"present on the *usta'd* or master, and upbraided the youth, who said, Oh my sovereign! "one little portion of the wrestling-art yet remained, which he withheld from me: "the master replied, For such an occasion as this, *I reserved it, because the Philoso-* "*phers have thus advised; Give not to your friend so much power, that should he* "*become your enemy, he may be able to hurt you.*"

(62) See a carnelion and a paste in the "Gemmæ et Sculpturæ Antiquæ," of Agostini. Part I. Tab. 146. Part. II. Tab. 21. (Amst. 1685). The carnelion is given also in Zornii "Bibliotheca Antiquaria," p. 676 (Francof. 1725). See the sepulchral urn in Caylus's "Recueil D'Antiquités," Tome I. p. LXXXIX. See likewise David's "Antiquités D'Herculanum, Tome II. pl. 43. (oct. Paris, 1780). Raspe's "Descriptive Catalogue" of Tassie's engraved Gems, from various collections, Vol. I. p. 465. (Lond. 1791); and the works of Montfaucon, Maffei, Gori, Winkelmann and others.

Mr. Henshaw added to his gifts which I have already acknowledged, an engraved piece of very pure gold, circular and flat like a medal, and thick as an English guinea; having a spheroidical ornament of fillagree work, hollow and open at both ends. Through these passed a string which suspended it from the neck of some woman, probably a mean person, dwelling at *Rás al Kheimah* on the Arabian coast, when that piratical settlement was lately destroyed by the English. On one side within a square, are four lines of characters supposed to possess talismanical properties; on the other is an Arabick inscription, comprising an *ayet* or verse from the Korán in words thus arranged,

تبارک الذي
بيده الملک وهو
علي کل شي قدير

"Blessed is he in whose hand is the kingdom: for he is all-powerful." With this passage commences the *Súret al mulk*, or "Chapter of the Kingdom," a portion of Mohammedan scripture entitled by some commentators "that which "rescues or liberates," as being capable of saving those who read it with due faith and devotion, from a particular punishment called the "Sepulchral Torture." Of this section, also the perusal is rewarded with other beneficial consequences, as we learn from Maracci and Sale, in their comments on the sixty-seventh chapter of the *Korán*.

In the Miscellaneous Plate, (No. 6), is a representation of this trinket, which might be reckoned costly and elegant,

when compared with most of the numerous amulets that subsequently fell into my hands. Of these baubles, designed talismanically to guard the wearer from evil, many, both ancient and modern, exhibit characters or devices, executed in the rudest manner, on substances deficient in beauty, and of no intrinsick value. The plates illustrating this work, contain delineations of some; they were probably adapted to the poorer and lower classes; among which, says an ingenious French writer, "such trifles as promise much "and cost little, easily find favour(64)."

My desire of hearing what the Persians considered as their best musick, could only be gratified, it was said, in the chief cities. Meanwhile, a kind of violin, called *Kemáncheh* کمانچه (or as pronounced in the south of Persia *Kamooncheh*), and found in almost every town, afforded me frequent entertainment. That which I first saw was in the hands of MAHAMMED CARABA'GHI, a poor fellow who sometimes visited our camp; the manner of playing will appear from a little sketch given in the Miscellaneous Plate, (No. 7). His *Kemáncheh*, made at *Shiráz*, was of *tút* توت or mulberry-tree wood; the body (about eight inches in diameter) globular, except at the mouth over which was stretched and fixed by glue, a covering of parchment; it had three strings (of twisted sheep-gut) and a

(64) "Des bagatelles qui promettent beaucoup et coutent peu, prennent aisément "faveur parmi le peuple." Pluche, Hist. du Ciel. Tome II. p. 52. (Paris 1739).

bridge placed obliquely. A straight piece of iron strengthened the whole instrument, from the knob below, through the handle or finger board, to the hollow which received the three pegs. It was carried hanging from the shoulder by a leather strap; in length it was nearly three feet from the wooden ball at top to the iron knob or button which rested on the ground. The bow was a mere switch, about two feet and a half long, to which was fastened, at one end, some black horse-hair. At the other end this hair was connected by a brass ring, with a piece of leather seven or eight inches long. The ring was managed with the second and third fingers of the performer's right hand, and by its means he contracted or relaxed the bow, which was occasionally rubbed on a bit of wax or rosin stuck above the pegs. This description will be more easily understood on a reference to the Miscellaneous Plate, (No. 8).

The performer generally combines his voice with the tones of this instrument. At the house of a person in *Bushehr*, I one day heard another minstrel sing to his *Kemánchah* a melancholy ditty, concerning the ill-fated *Zend* (زند) dynasty which became extinct on the murder of LUTF ALI KHA'N in 1794, when the present king's uncle, of the *Kajar* tribe, assumed imperial authority. The *Zend* princes were much beloved, and are not yet forgotten in this country. The elegy on their misfortunes abounded

with pathetick passages; and the tune corresponding, drew tears from some who listened. To sing those verses, or to express such feelings on hearing them sung, would not have been prudent at *Shiráz*, where, though the *Zends* are remembered with still higher veneration and gratitude, the government is more suspicious and vigilant, than at *Bushehr*(65).

The *Kemánchch* is of various materials; I have seen one of which the body was merely a hollow gourd; and another, of which every part was richly inlaid and ornamented. "Some," says ABDALCA'DER, "form the body of this "instrument from the shell of a cocoa-nut, fixing on it "hair-strings; but many from wood, over which they fasten "silken strings"(66). By another writer, whose manuscript work shall be quoted in a future Essay on Persian Musick, (or rather musical instruments), the *tút*, or mulberry-wood, is recommended as best adapted to the silken strings, from

(65) Mr. Scott Waring has given one of the popular songs on LUTF ALI KHA'N, in his "Tour to Sheeraz." p. 93. (Lond. 1807).

(66) بعضي کاسه انرا از پوست جوز هندي سازند و بران موي بندند اما بعضي کاسه انرا از چوب سازند و بر آن ابرشيم بندند

This passage I have extracted from a treatise on the musick and old musical instruments of Persia, composed by the celebrated ABDALCA'DER of *Marághch*; fairly written *with his own hand*, in the year 821 of the Mohammedan era, (or of Christ 1418) as we learn from the last page. ABDALCA'DER was eminent in various arts and sciences besides musick, and died of the memorable plague which desolated *Hera't* and the adjacent districts in 838, or of our era 1434. The autograph Volume containing his rare and valuable work, a perfect and very handsome manuscript, I reckon among the chief literary curiosities of my collection.

a supposed sympathy between that tree, and the produce of those insects which feed on its leaves: it is, however, in many respects, the fittest, and therefore most generally used for the bodies of *Kemánchehs*(67). These are sometimes made of the *girdú* (گردو) or walnut-tree wood.

Another instrument not often seen in Persia beyond the *Garmsír* (or "warm region") about *Bushehr*, seemed worthy also of a sketch. In sound as in make it resembled the bag-pipe; which is expressed by its name, *nei ambánah*, or according to the usual pronunciation here, *nei amboonah*. From Mr. Bruce, I learned that a Scotch gentleman, five or six years before, had played on it several tunes of his own country, in a very pleasing manner without any previous practice(68). An instrument of this kind has been

(67) In the Greek "Anthologia," (Lib. I. p. 143. 4to 1604) an Epigram, beginning Τὸν σοφὸν ἐν κιθάρῃ, &c. alludes to the sympathetick affection of strings formed from bowels of the same sheep. Antipathies as extraordinary are noticed by many Persian writers. SHEMS AD'DIN assures us, that if a musician should furnish the instrument called *chegháneh* (چغانه) or the *Barbet* (بربط) with some strings made of a sheep's intestines, and others of a wolf's, they would refuse to vibrate in concord; or indeed, as he says, they would not yield any sound, هیچ آواز ندهند (MS. *Nezhat Nemah Elhaiy*).

(68) *Nai* or *Nei* (نی) signifies a reed, pipe, &c. and *Anbán* (انبان) or *Anbánah*, (انبانه) a bag made of the skin taken entire off a sheep. The manuscript dictionaries *Jehangiri* and *Berhan Kattea* inform us that this instrument is also called by a name of the same signification, *nei-meshek* or *meshkek* نی مشک or مشکک. It appears to have been more general in former ages than at present; and I find it described under a third name, *nei-khaig* (نی خایک), forming also the compound term, "bag-pipe," in ABDALCA'DER's MS. work above quoted.

long known in various countries of Europe. Pignorius, Montfaucon, and others, have shewn us its ancient form; and Dr. Middleton remarks, that the bag-pipe, though mostly used among the lower classes, contributed to promote mirth at games and feasts, at least so far back as the times of the Cæsars. And this ingenious antiquary has delineated the figure of a performer on it, (who seems to wear the *persona scenica*, or stage mask,) from a Bronze in his own cabinet; observing that such images were extremely rare(69).

Of our Persian instrument, the bag is a sheep's skin, inflated through a wooden mouth-piece, of which the real size is shown in the Miscellaneous Plate (No. 9). The chanter, (seven inches long), is composed of two reeds, laid parallel in a split bamboo and tied round. Of this double tube, each reed has six finger-holes. The Miscellaneous Plate,* (No. 10) represents it as inserted into the bag; and (in No. 11) shews that part of it which contains the two reeds. From one end of the bag are

(69) See the "Miscellaneous Works of Dr. Conyers Middleton." Vol. IV. p. 83. Plate IX. (Lond. 1752). I saw at Stanwix, near Carlisle (in 1808), the figure of a bag-piper carved on stone, and by many supposed to be of Roman workmanship. An engraved representation of it is given in Hutchinson's "History of Cumberland." Gerard Mercator, (a celebrated Geographer who in the sixteenth century, constructed maps to illustrate Ptolemy) fills up a part of Sarmatia little known, with figures indicating a pastoral tribe, and to one of them assigns a bag-pipe. See Asiæ Tab. II. in Bertii Theatr. Geogr. Veteris. The Greek and Roman names for a bag-piper were ασκαυλης, ασκοδὸς and *utricularius*.

Musicians at Bushehr

pendent, as ornaments, some strings made of camel's hair(70). These, the performer throws carelessly over his left arm; and his right hand, in playing, is uppermost. The tones of this instrument were not, by any means, disagreeable. The musician, named SAIED, a native of *Bushehr*, resided in the Arab village nearest to our camp, and was frequently employed by the peasants at weddings and on other occasions of festivity. In Plate XIV, I have represented him with the *Ambánah*; and a young man who accompanied its notes by tapping with his fingers on the *dohl* (دهل), a drum, or cylinder of wood, covered with parchment at both ends, one of which is so braced, as to yield a sound higher by an octave than the other.

It is said that the camel-drivers of this country solace themselves on their journies by the notes of a flute or pipe, not often used in other provinces; this is a simple reed, about four feet long(71). When rambling over the desert I have listened with much satisfaction to their

(70) In Portugal, Mr. Semple observed a favourite instrument, the bag-pipe, adorned with ribbons "exactly similar to that used in the Highlands of Scotland." Travels, &c. Vol. I. p. 18. (Lond. 1807). He would trace this instrument to a Celtick origin, (p. 17). But perhaps it might be claimed by the Goths or Scythians.

(71) The Persian نای *nai* or نی *ney*, is the reed of which are made pens, called generally by the Arabick name قلم *calm*, (the Greek and Latin καλαμος, *calamus*). Pipes formed from simple reeds may be classed among the earliest instruments, according to Lucretius; "Et Zephyri cava," &c. (De Rer. Nat. Lib. V. l. 1381).

songs, in which were introduced many soft and plaintive cadences. Indeed, of Persian musick, whether vocal or produced from string-instruments, the predominating characteristick seemed to be a querulous tendency; although the singing was always extremely loud, and the tune little more than a succession of trills and shakes. In subsequent chapters of this work, several instruments must be noticed, besides those above described. Had my skill in the science equalled my fondness for the practical part of musick, I should before now, have explained the whole Essay of ANDALCA'DER (mentioned in note 66), and other manuscript tracts on the same subject. But that they have hitherto baffled my superficial skill, may without much hesitation, be here acknowledged; since few Persian professors of the art, living at *Ispahán*, *Shiráz*, or *Tehrán*, boast a perfect knowledge of their ancient system. Believing, however, with Sir William Jones, that their books concerning it, might, probably, enable us to recover much of the old Grecian theory(72); I once endeavoured to comprehend the oriental distribution of modes, and the subdivisions of tones by a process, requiring in the student rather an intimate acquaintance with arithmetick, than with musick. Unable to conquer the difficulties that presented themselves, I have extracted from nine or ten

(72) Second Anniversary Discourse, Asiat. Researches, Vol. I. p. 410. oct. Lond. 1801. See also, Vol. III. "Essay on the Musical Modes of the Hindús." - It is doubtful whether Sir William Jones regarded the Indian or Egyptian, the Greek or

manuscript treatises, in Arabick and Persian, such parts as may, at least, prove interesting to an antiquary; these, with ABDALCA'DER's entire account of musical instruments; HAFIZ's *Maghenni Námeh* (مغني نامه) or "address to the minstrel," and passages from other writers, translated and illustrated with engravings after pictures in manuscripts, or drawings made by myself in the East; form the materials of a work which, on some future occasion, shall be offered to the publick, if, in the mean time, no person, better qualified, should undertake the same subject(73).

Within a few days after our landing at *Bushehr*, we had made every necessary preparation for an advance into the country. Each gentleman of the embassy hired servants in different stations; the usual private establishment being a *Pish-Khydmet* (پیش خدمت), one who waits immediately on the person of his master, as "valet de chambre"; a

Persian systems as most ancient. Neither has Rousseau determined whether the Greeks received their musick directly from Heaven, through Apollo or Mercury, or from Phœnicia, through Cadmus. (Dict. de Mus. in *Musique.*) The Arabians and Turks, as I shall hereafter shew, have borrowed their systems from the Persians.

(73) Such a knowledge of the gamut, as merely enables me to play very easy compositions on the flute, or the guitar, is unfortunately, the utmost extent of my musical accomplishments. But if Sir Gore Ouseley's time had not been occupied with more important avocations, he might long since have dispelled all the difficulties that embarrass Eastern musick; since I may affirm, uninfluenced by partiality towards a brother, that for such a task, his theoretical and practical acquirements have pre-eminently qualified him.

Jeludár (جلودار) or principal groom(74), and a *Mehter* (مهتر) or inferior groom(75).

To attend the general baggage on our march towards *Shirás* proper persons were engaged; and the Ambassador distributed throughout the camp a sufficient number of *feráshes* (فراش), men who pitch and strike the tents, spread carpets, and perform similar offices. Over them presided a *Feráish-Bashi* (فراش باشي). There were also many *Sakás*, (سقا), those who supplied water, bringing it on horseback every morning before sun-rise in great bags called *rabiaa* or *rabaát*(76), from which they filled the *meshks* or skins suspended near the door of each tent. I have already mentioned the *meshek*, and given its figure in the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 4.

To ensure, however, the most prompt supply of water in marching through a country, where it is proverbially

(74) It appears from the Dictionaries *Jehang.* and *Berh. Katt.* MSS. so often quoted; that the *Jeludár* was formerly called *rekáb-dár* (رکابدار) or the "stirrup-holder," being one who, on foot, accompanied a horseman. But the word "formerly," which I have here used, does not imply any great antiquity; for stirrups were probably never used in Persia before the *Muselmán* conquest.

(75) But as the comparative of *meh* or *mih* (مه) "great, powerful," &c. we find *mehter* used by the old Persian writers, especially by FIRDAUSI in a very different sense; to express a nobleman, chief, illustrious personage, &c.

(76) From the Arabick word اربع "four" being properly made of four skins sewed together.

scarce; most of us furnished at least one of our servants with a kind of bottle, holding nearly three quarts; made of *bulghár*, (بلغار) or Russia-leather; with a wooden stopper. It hangs from the saddle or girth, and swings under the horse. It is called *matahrah* or *matárah*(77). See the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 12. Most of these vessels, like the large bags or skins, communicate an unpleasant flavour to the water; but this is an article, respecting which, a traveller in Persia must not be fastidious.

Few tents were without a *laggan* and *aftábah*. Some *laggans* are merely dishes, used as wash-hand basins. But many have covers perforated or grated in a kind of open-work, through which passes the water that has been poured on the hands of guests, at meals or entertainments. Like these, both in appearance and in use, I have seen old basins of silver at European colleges(78). The *aftábah* is a ewer, resembling our coffee-pots, with a handle and long spout; from this a servant pours water on the hands held over the *laggan*. Both are generally

(77) The Persians write مطاره and the Arabians مطهره according to the MS. Dict. *Berhan Kattea*.

(78) The *laggan* (لگن) or *lakken* (لگن as the Arabs write) is sometimes placed under a candlestick to intercept any wax that might fall on the carpet; and the lower part of a *fanús* فانوس or lantern is called *laggan*, as the MS. Dict. *Jehangíri* informs us. The MS. *Berhan Kattea* adds that in this vessel or dish, the paste or dough of bread is often kneaded.

made of copper tinned or whitened(79). See the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 13.

For articles of daily use on the journey, we procured those square trunks or boxes, formed of strong leather, stretched on frames of wood. They are generally from twenty inches to two feet in height; and from seventeen to nineteen or twenty inches in width; an iron chain from the back, passing over the pad or saddle, hangs one of them on each side of a horse or mule. These boxes were originally contrived, it is said, for the carriage of ice, a purpose which indeed is designated by their name *yakh dán* (یخدان) or "ice-holder." See the Miscell. Plate, (No. 14). They are secured with steel or iron padlocks (of which two kinds with their screw-keys are represented in the Miscellaneous Plate, No. 15); and the lids are so contrived, that a person may easily open them while he is proceeding, without the trouble of lifting them off the horse or mule. To carry the Ambassador's larger cases or trunks, (called in general *Sandúk* صندوق) many camels were provided.

(79) *Aftábah* افتابه seems to be a corruption of *ábtábah* or *ábtábah*, but is not so explained by the manuscript Dictionaries quoted in note 78, which mention *aftábá* in describing the *laggan*. And a most celebrated poet, JA'MI, tells us that ZELI'KHA (the wife of Potiphar), placed a golden *aftabah* in the hands of her beautiful Hebrew slave, young Joseph, بدستش داد زرین افتابه See the MS. Poem, یوسف و زلیخا *Yusef u Zelikha*, or "The Loves of Joseph and Zelikha."

The twenty-sixth of March had now arrived, and the Ambassador resolved that he would no longer await the promised *Mehmándár*. Several tents with a proportionate number of *ferashes* to pitch them; the baggage under a proper escort; supernumerary horses and servants, and the Ambassador's cook and his assistants with all their culinary utensils; were sent forward in good time, so that we might find a camp ready to receive us on halting at the next stage. By such an arrangement we ensured to ourselves a comfortable habitation for each day during the whole march.

CHAPTER VI.

From Bushehr to Shiráz.

ON the twenty-seventh of March, we began our journey towards *Shiráz*, at seven o'clock in the morning, accompanied by MOHAMMED JAAFAR KHA'N and ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, whose numerous attendants, with the Sepoy dragoons, the Royal Artillery-men, and Sergeants of the forty-seventh regiment, all mounted on horseback, besides ourselves with our grooms, and other servants in European, Indian, Arabian, and Persian dresses, formed a long and variegated cavalcade. There were, besides, many *Sháters* (شاطر) or running footmen, in the Ambassador's train. At the moment of our departure, a grand salute was fired from the Lion, and another soon after, from the Fort of *Bushehr*. Lady Ousley and her little daughter travelled in the *palankin*

or *pálki*, (see p. 189) procured at Bombay; whence also, had been brought for the purpose of carrying it, twenty strong and active Indians, who relieved each other under the load by turns, four at a time. Her two English maid-servants followed in a *Cajávah*; this consisted of two small and inconvenient seats, slung on a mule; and over them were awnings of canvass, supported on slight wooden frames. No. 16, in the Miscellaneous Plate, shows the form of a *Cajávah* (کجاوه) or *Cajavah* (کجوه) or *Cajábah* (کجابه) and No. 17, of a more handsome and roomy vehicle, called *Takht-raván* (تخت روان) "the moving throne or seat," in which Lady Ouseley performed some of her journies through Persia(1).

We proceeded along a dreary, flat and sandy desert to *Alichangi* (علیچنکی) distant, according to the wheel or pedometer, sixteen miles one furlong, from the camp near *Bushehr*; of two paths, however, we had taken, through some mistake, one more circuitous than the other by a mile(2).

(1) The *Takht-ravan*, is a light frame, fixed on two strong poles like those of our sedan chairs; the frame is covered, generally with cloth, and has a door, sometimes of lattice-work, at each side; it is carried by two mules; one between the poles before, the other behind.

(2) Although during our marches, the wheel always stopped at the flag-staff, in front of the Ambassador's tent, sometimes pitched according to circumstances a few hundred yards short of the usual halting-place, and at other times beyond it; yet the aggregate of our daily measurements must be correct. The,

When entering the date-grove of this village, we met the *istikbál* or *pishwáz*, an assemblage of about thirty men on horseback and ninety or one hundred on foot, who had come forth to receive and compliment the Ambassador by displaying feats of equestrian agility, darting the *jerid* and discharging muskets. But it was whispered that many of those who swelled the *istikbál*, had been purposely sent from different places, to make a show of abundant population in this thinly-inhabited country; a deception frequently practised on similar occasions(*).

Of *Alichangi* it has been said, (however paradoxical the assertion may appear) that the village is not always situate exactly on the same spot; the huts which compose it being of such slight construction, that they are easily removed, when motives of profit or convenience induce the owners to shift their habitations and their families a few hundred yards; and they hasten to new ground, should any circumstance have marked the last which they occupied as unlucky; or any extraordinary instances of mortality have proved it unfavourable to health.

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wheel was managed by the Artillery-men who noted in a book, every inflexion and bearing, and all remarkable objects on the road. This book was regularly inspected by Major D'Arcy.

(*) The Persian word پیشواز *pishwáz* or rather پیشباز *pishbáz*, is equivalent to the Arabick استقبال *istikbál* "meeting, coming before," &c.

Within a mile of our tents were several ancient wells, lately discovered by the peasants who had ascertained their position to be at regular intervals and in a particular direction; of five or six that I examined, the mouths were circular and in diameter from ten to twelve feet; one was triangular; all were very deep; the upper part, for above a yard, faced with stone; from that downwards they were built of excellent brick. The country people call them *chah-e-gabrán*; "wells of the Fire-worshippers" (چاه گبران) or, in their provincial manner of speaking, *chah-a-gavroona*; (see p. 202); and have applied to them wheels and buckets, as they afford good water in greater quantity than the modern wells, which are seldom, diametrically, three feet; here are often dug up vases filled with the *túlah* or mallow-seed, and ascribed, as I have already mentioned, (p. 215), to ages of remote antiquity.

28. We left *Alichangi* at four o'clock in the morning that our days journey might be performed during the cool hours; but we did not reach the *manzil* (منزل) or halting-place near *Burazjún* until one, as the road was bad, and the heat after sun-rise, had made our passage over the naked desert, equally slow as unpleasant(*).

(*) Of *Burazjún* I have seen the name written thus, برازجون but suspect that it has been also spelt برازگان *Burazgán*.

Burazjún is a large village, with walls and towers; near it we observed some cultivated land and trees. The *peíshwáz* or *istikbál* which met us at this place, consisted of several men with muskets, lances and drums; the women, chiefly of Arabian families, standing in crowds about their houses or squatting on the roofs, welcomed us with loud and continued howls, rendered tremulous by the rapid vibration of their fingers applied to their mouths. Immediately after our arrival, many of the inhabitants both male and female, solicited medical relief in various diseases, chiefly ocular affections. On this occasion and frequently after, until Mr. Sharp, the Surgeon, had acquired a competent knowledge of the Persian language, I assisted as interpreter for the patients; and to their complaints, their wishes, and their confessions I have often listened with astonishment and disgust. For they considered delicacy or reserve as incompatible with a just statement of their cases; and the women especially seemed to expect miracles from European skill. Those who made personal applications, were in general of the lower or middle orders; but it appeared at *Shiráz*, *Isfahán* and other places, from a multiplicity of circumstances, to record which would contaminate my pages, that a system of profligacy the most detestable was universal among all classes.

At *Burazjún*, four or five of our European soldiers began to suffer from the heat which was extremely

oppressive at three o'clock, when the Thermometer, in a tent rose to 94; during summer, most of the people seek shade and coolness in subterraneous dwellings.

The march of this day was twenty-four miles and a quarter. Not far from *Alichangi* we passed through *Chahkutah*, a village where lately resided the *Demúkhs*; an unfortunate tribe of Arabian descent, concerning whom, I had learned some particulars from Mr. Bruce(*).

They were a very brave, ancient and independent race; considered as the militia of this country, and therefore exempt from certain tolls and taxes; they were also rich, and possesed finer horses than any of the neighbouring tribes; a desire of obtaining their horses and their wealth, induced MOHAMMED NEBBI KHA'N (محمد نبي خان) *Vizier*, or more properly *Vazír* (وزير), chief minister of the Prince at *Shiráz*, to conceive a plan for the extermination of those *Demúkhs*; an act of which, he could not extenuate the atrocity by any accusation; for although they had been warmly attached to *Sheikh Nasser* (شيخ نصر) the late Arab Governor of *Bushehr*; yet their conduct under the new Persian dynasty, was irre-

(*) The name of *Chahkutah* as written for me by a Persian, was چهکتاه; and of the tribe, دموخ

proachable. NEBBI KHA'N, however, resolved, to destroy them; and in February, 1809, under pretence of rewarding their twenty-four *Sheikhs* or Chiefs with dresses of honour, he invited them to assemble at the house of his brother MOHAMMED JA'AFAR KHA'N. There, whilst they sat, expecting the promised robes, one RUSTAM BEG (رستم بیک a Georgian favourite of the Prince), who had brought troops expressly from *Shirá:z*; arrested the unarmed and unsuspecting chiefs, and threw them into prison, where they were chained by the neck, one to another. At the same time, soldiers were despatched to *Chakutah*, who there massacred the other men of that tribe; treated the women with most brutal violence; and carried off as slaves, all the young girls and boys, having pillaged every house, and reduced the place to ruin.

One of the *Demúkh* chiefs, after a confinement of several weeks, contrived at midnight, while the *Tangasiri* sentinels slumbered on their posts, to extricate his own neck from the chain; he then released the other chiefs, and they crept silently into the street, but were pursued and overpowered; having neglected to furnish themselves with instruments of defence, by disarming their guards. All were led back to prison except one, who claimed the protection of an Englishman, and is now in habits of private correspondence with his generous benefactor. In the month of October following, NEBBI KHA'N came

again to *Bushehr*, and hearing that the imprisoned chiefs had endeavoured to escape, he caused them to be secretly murdered. Many, it is said, were thrown alive into deep wells. The present Government proposes to repeople *Chahkutah* with families collected from various places; we passed near the remains of its mud-fort; and soon after, two fine brood-mares which had onee belonged to the *Demákhs*, were offered as a present to Sir Gore Ouseley, from JAAFAR KHA'N, brother of the *Vazír*.

During the twenty-ninth, we halted at *Burazjún*; but found it difficult to procure a sufficiency of provisions for our numerous party. MOHAMMED ZEKI KHA'N (محمد زكي خان) a nobleman of high rank, and chief of the *Núrí* (نوري) tribe, paid a visit to the Ambassador; he had arrived from *Shiráz* the evening before, invested with the appointment of *Mehmandár*.

Near our camp was the tomb of some modern *Imámzádah* or Mohammedan saint, whose name I did not take the trouble to record; a representation of it, however, is annexed, (Plate XII), not for any beauty in the view, but as it shews one form of those sepulchral edifices, which a traveller in Persia almost daily sees.

On the thirtieth of March, soon after three o'clock we set out from *Burazjún*, and by a bad and stony

path, arrived at the village of *Dálaki* or *Dálki* (دالکی); then went on to our tents, pitched a little beyond it, on the verge of a palm-grove, under rocks and mountains so lofty, that they seemed to present a succession of most formidable obstacles to our further progress. By these immense barriers, the plain was nobly bounded on the right hand; and an extensive plantation of date-trees, closed our prospect on the left; (See Plate XV). This place of encampment, was distant from *Burazjún* thirteen miles and three quarters; during the last five or six miles, we found the air offensive from the smell of sulphur, and *Naphta*, which oozed from the ground; besides this bituminous substance, a kind of earth is produced here, strongly impregnated with nitrous acid; it is called *gil-i-turish* (گل ترش) or "sour clay;" and it is used sometimes in the composition of sherbet, mixed with sugar and diluted with water(*).

The inhabitants, as usual, came out to meet the Ambassador; many people also from a neighbouring village, joined the *istikbál*, and discharged their matchlock

(*) In the view of *Dálki* I have sketched the Ambassador's *Sera-pardá*, (سراپردہ) the two principal tents enclosed within a wall of canvass. Mr. Morier's tent and my own, appear on the left; nearly in the middle is a large two-pole tent, the *Sufrah Khánah* (سفرہ خانہ) or place wherein we breakfasted and dined. Beyond this are tents of the cook and other servants. A *Sepoy* is introduced as sentinel, and a *ferásh* (See p. 240). sitting near some baggage contained in the *yakhdáns*, described above, p. 248.

muskets, the sound of which was reverberated with good effect among the mountains. Here by the exertions of our *Mehmandár*, the *Siursát* (سیورسات) was amply provided. This is a regulated allowance of sheep, calves, lambs, fowls, eggs, milk, butter, bread and other articles of food; also, of barley or grass, for horses and mules; and of fuel, with which, the inhabitants of towns and villages are obliged to furnish every *ilchi* (ایلچی) or Ambassador, (considered as a guest of the King) on his passage through the country. In each place, the chief person exacts from the others their due share of the contribution; for the aggregate amount of which, he receives from the *Mehmandár*, a written acknowledgement; and in the future payment of their rents or taxes, a sum is allowed equivalent to the value. But this prospect of indemnification is remote; and has sometimes, I fear, proved fallacious. The peasants too, are often so poor, that the necessary supply of provisions can only be extorted from them by blows; and houses have been abandoned, and flocks driven away on the approach of a *Mehmandár*, with his train of insolent and hungry servants, ready to enforce the most oppressive or unjust commands. It is said, that the *Mehmandárs* often require an immoderate *siursát*; then commute part of the demanded supply for money; furnishing the Ambassador meanwhile but scantily under various pretences.

That this was not a false accusation, our subsequent journies proved in two or three instances.

I went to see a ruined edifice situate in a romantick and beautiful spot near a fountain of excellent water, issuing from rocks overshadowed with trees, about one mile and a half from *Dálkí*; but the building, did not appear ancient.

Much had been said at *Bushehr*, of the trouble and fatigue which we should experience in travelling over the hilly country; and Father Angelo had long before declared that those precipices between the Persian gulf and *Shiráz* were as horrible as any in the world(*). On the thirty first of March we began to ascend the mountain road, and found that report had not exaggerated the difficulties of this journey; for the winding path rises among stupendous rocks, and is rendered dangerous by loose stones; it sometimes affords views of wild magnificence, but more frequently places the spectator in alarming situations on the brink of precipices. We effected,

(*) "Quei precipizii dalla spiaggia del mar Persico sin à Scirar, sono de' "piu horrendi del mondo" Gazoph. Ling Pers. p. 300, (under the head of "*Precipitio*). Father Angelo, for so we generally entitle the "Pere Ange de St. Joseph" a native of Toulouse, whose family name appears to have been De la Brosse, often gives in his Persian column, more than is found in his Italian, French or Latin: thus, (as above-quoted) he tells us that the most frightful of those precipices are between *Shiráz* and *Bander Rig* (بندر ریگ) and *Bender Kung* or *Kongo* بندر کنگ

however in seven hours our march from *Dálki*, to the handsome and spacious *Caravanserai* of *Kunár Takhtah* (کنار تخته), lately erected by ZA'L KHA'N (زال خان), a distance of fourteen miles(*). Here at one o'clock in a room, the thermometer stood at 73; in the sun it rose to 113. A very ingenious French traveller who visited this country in 1674, declares that the excessive heat forced him and his companions to seek coolness, during a whole day, in the stream of *Khísht*, where hundreds of fishes approaching them at a time, numbers were taken by the hand, and furnished an abundant meal(†).

The mountains over which we had passed constitute what is called the *Kutel-e-Mallú*; it would appear that the plain between this and *Bushehr* was once covered by the sea,

(*) The Persian *Caravanserá* (کاروانسرا) generally comprises four ranges of small rooms, forming a hollow square, into which the traveller enters by a gate; this when fastened at night, secures him, his horses or mules, and baggage from depredation. Some *Caravanseras* are built near running streams; others are supplied with water from wells or reservoirs. But the traveller must bring with him every thing else necessary for his support and comfort on the road, as the bare walls and vaulted roofs of the chambers afford him merely shelter. A more particular account of certain *Caravanseras*, with views, shall be given in the course of this work.

(†) "La chaleur nous faisoit tant de peine que nous fûmes obligés, ayant "rencontré une riviere appelée *Khycht Seuy*, de nous depouiller et nous mettre "dans l'eau a l'ombre d'un rocher, et d'y demeurer tout le long du jour, sans "quoi nous aurions etouffé. Il fallut souffrir d'y etre mordus par les poissons "qui vepoient a nous par centaine a la fois; nous en prîmes a la main tant "que nous voulûmes, et nous en dînâmes ce jour la." Extrait du Journal du

and I found many petrified shells about *Dálki* and half way up the *Kutel*(*).

Those who had assembled to congratulate us near the halting-place this day, were inhabitants of *Khisht*, (خشت), a village within four miles; once probably of some note, as a geographical author whose words shall be hereafter cited, calls it a town or city; they composed a numerous *peishwáz*, having drums, trumpets, and fire-arms; and they entertained us with the *jerid bázi* or mock lance-play, and several vollies of musketry. On entering the *Caravanserai*, ZA'L KHA'N caused three or four thin glass bottles, nearly full of sugar-candy, to be broken; and their contents scattered among the crowd; a manner of complimenting illustrious strangers practised in Persia during many centuries.

From some men of the *istikbál* I inquired, but could not obtain any information, concerning sculptures, which

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Sieur Petis, Fils. p. 112. published by M. Langlès at the end of his "Relation de Dourry Effendy" (Paris 1810). The great Journal of M. Petis de la Croix, to which this Extract often alludes, and his "Memoires," still preserved in manuscript, would be a most important literary present from such an editor as M. Langlès.

(*) This would seem to be a contraction of *Kuh* کوہ "mountain", and *tel* تل "a rising ground, a hill, *tumulus* &c." But *tel* is by some regarded as Arabick, according to the MS. Dict. *Berhán Kattea*, which spells *Kutel* thus, کتل without doubt correctly. Yet, in a Persian translation of SULTAN BA'BER's Commentaries, composed by himself in the *Moghul* language, I find *Kutel* written کوتل two or three times. But my copy of that valuable work is rather a handsome than an accurate Manuscript.

in the year 1787, existed near a garden at *Khisht*, according to the verbal information of a friend, whose remarks on other parts of this country have always proved accurate and just. From the particulars furnished by his recollection, imperfect after a lapse of many years, I am induced to imagine that those figures which he saw, represented king SHAPU'R, BAHRA'M, or some other princes of the Sassanian dynasty, although the villagers entitled them SELA'MA'N and A'BSA'L; names of personages only known in the fictions of poetical Romance(11).

The veracity of my friend is not impeached by the ignorance of those from whom I inquired respecting the sculptures. Of Persians, where antiquities are concerned, the extreme indifference has been already noticed, and various proofs of it might be given from my own observation. There were people of no mean rank, inhabitants of *Darabgird* during the greater part of their lives, who, before they accompanied me, had never seen the magnificent relief cut on a rock within half an hour's ride

(11) I do not recollect SELA'MA'N and ABSA'L, (سلامان و ابسال) in any work besides the extraordinary poem of JA'MI, to which their names are prefixed, and which celebrates their unfortunate loves. The story has no relation to Persia, for SELAMA'N's father was "King of the Ionian country,"

شهریاری بود در یونان زمین

and the scene lies, accordingly, in Greece.

of that city. At *Tehrán* I could not find one, and believe there were but few, who had visited or even heard of the sculpture in a mountain not five miles distant. Whilst the Ambassador and his English companions were engaged at *Shapúr*, in exploring the ancient monuments, our *Mehmándár* ZEKI KHA'N, who had never seen them, composed himself to sleep under the shade of a neighbouring tree, and left the place without bestowing one thought on its antiquities. A *Khán* or nobleman, whose pilgrimage to Mecca and travels in more distant regions, were often the subject of extravagant boasting, acknowledged to me that twelve or fourteen times when on his way between *Isfahán* and *Shiráz*, he had halted for several hours within two miles of Persepolis, yet never once ascended the steps of *Jemshíd's Throne*, nor entered the *Palace of Darius;* although he had read and probably believed, that those admirable remains were the works either of King Solomon or of preternatural beings. He did not glory, it must be owned, in this want of curiosity; I have often witnessed the astonishment of strangers, at his exaggerated and most erroneous descriptions of the columns, the excavations, and sculptures found among those ruins, of which he spoke, as objects that he had frequently and minutely examined(17).

(17) Individuals, however, are sometimes found in regions of more classical taste, equally indifferent respecting the antiquities of their country. Thus the

But the peasants are sometimes interested in concealing the knowledge of any monuments that may exist near their villages: for however willing a visitor might be to recompense their trouble in showing them, the rapacity of his Persian servants would, in many cases, frustrate the master's liberal intentions They suspect, also, that Europeans, in general, possess the art of discovering from inscriptions, from the attitude of statues, and other modes of indication, the spot where gold and jewels have been concealed: for they suppose, and I am induced by many reasons to agree in their opinion, that most, perhaps all, of the ancient ruins, are still depositories of valuable treasures.

It is not probable that the sculptures seen at *Khisht* have totally disappeared within the space of four and twenty years. The design of this digression will be fulfilled if it lead to a discovery of those figures.

Before five o'clock on the first day of April we proceeded from *Kuzár Takhtah* but did not arrive at our camp until ten, although the distance, by the pedometer

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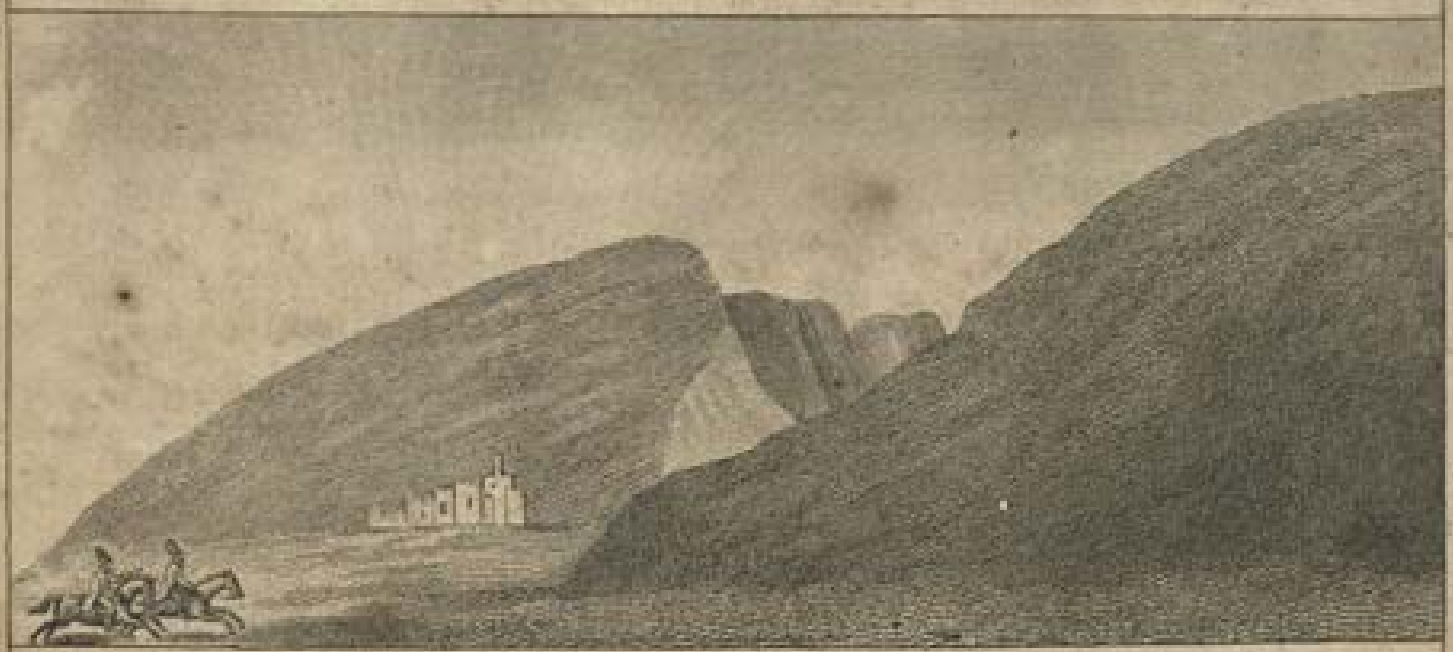
lively and entertaining "Travels" of General Cockburne, in Sicily, &c. (2 Vols. Oct. 1816), mention, that the Curate of Calatifini never visited the Temple of Segesta, although he had resided fifteen years within three miles of its ruins, until curiority to see some strangers, who were examining it, induced him to go there. Vol. II. p. 20.

was only nine miles; our road up the steep *Kutel of Comáredge* (کمارج) being obstructed by fragments of rocks fallen from the mountain's side, about which it winded; sometimes through chasms so narrow as scarcely to admit a loaded mule; and at many turns impending over torrents and abysses, where one false step must have precipitated the traveller into destruction.

Our tents were pitched near *Comáredge* at the foot of some hills; one of these I climbed, to inspect the *Calaa-i-Ferhád,* (قلعه فرهاد) *Ferhád's Castle* or *Fort*, of which, in a ruined state, are visible the walls and towers of stone, with the well. It had lately been occupied by a band of robbers. Whilst examining these remains I almost forgot that they stood on a considerable eminence; so much more elevated appeared the adjacent mountains. (See Plate XVII). This fort, however, commanded an extensive view, comprehending the *Caravanserai*, the village of *Comáredge* and its fine plain, through which could be discerned the road leading to *Cazerún*. Besides the famous sculptor who flourished in *Kurdistán*, (See p. 233), many illustrious Persians have borne the name of FERHA'D.

The province of *Pars* seems to have abounded with small mountain-forts as well as castles of considerable magnitude. "Their number," says a writer of the tenth century, "was once ascertained from the publick registers,

Perhaldi Castle p. 396



Ruins near Shirpur, p. 380.

Sculptures at Shirpur pp 382 384 389

"and it amounted to five thousand"(13). We find it, afterwards, reduced to seventy and some few; and HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI enumerates only sixteen as retaining any importance in his time, the fourteenth century(14). But the remains of hundreds are still visible, and every modern traveller may confirm the report of Kæmpfer(15).

I accompanied Mr. Morier, and some other gentlemen of the Embassy on a visit to our *Mehmandár*. We found him in a large tent, handsomely furnished with hangings of *Masulipatam* chintz. On the floor or ground was spread a carpet of rich colours and fine texture, and over this were laid pieces of soft *nammed* (نمد a kind of felt) on which we placed ourselves, having left outside the door, according to Persian custom, our boots, shoes, and slippers; here we were regaled with pipes, coffee, tea, fruit, sweet-meats and rose-water. ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N was present and we enjoyed for near an hour the lively conversation of our frank and good-natured host; although I was not the only person who felt the

(13) در بعضي ازايام شمرده شده است در دواوين حساب پنج هزار قلعه بوده است MS. *Súr al beldán.*

(14) ا كنون شانزده قلعه معروف و مشهوراست و در زمان ما قبل هفتاد و چند قلعه در ملک فارس بوده MS. *Nozhat al Colúb.* (Geogr. ch. XII).

(15) "Nec enim vallem peragraveris, quæ non in adsiti montis cacumine, vestigium quoddam munimenti præbeat," &c. Amœnit. Exot. p. 364.

want of chairs, and found that either to sit cross-legged so long, or to support the body on the knees and heels, were, on a first trial, situations extremely irksome.

The camp here was plentifully supplied with mutton, fowls, eggs and bread. The Ambassador received a present of some *Shiráz* wine, rose-water, several partridges, and a kind of antelope or long-horned mountain-goat, called *Buz* (بز) by the Persians, and *Tish* (تیش) by the Arabs. Here also was abundance of *mást*, (ماست), coagulated milk or clotted cream, slightly sour, which when diluted with water forms *áb i dúgh* (اب دوغ), a beverage in warm weather equally grateful and salubrious[16].

Khisht is enumerated among the towns of *Fars* by Ebn Haukal in the tenth century[17], and it would appear

(16) Dr. Hyde in his Miscellaneous Works (Vol. II. p. 601), describes from a Persian MS. the manner of preparing a certain talismanick ring, the wearer of which, "must "not," says he, "eat either fish or mast." And he explains *mast* to signify "acorns, "nuts, chesnuts or such like things as grow in the wood." But, I think, that prohibition alluded rather to the butter-milk or sour milk called *mást*, which Saadi represents as incongruous with fish, in a tetrastich beginning جامع طغت چیز در یک روز and enumerating seven things which are pernicious if all used on the same day. One passage of this tetrastich (which it is not necessary to quote), will remind the classick reader of an Epigram (by some uncertain author) in the Greek "Anthologia." Lib. I. cap. 37, epig. 24. (Edit Lubin. 1604 p. 117).

Οἶνος, καὶ τὰ λοετρὰ, καὶ ἡ περὶ Κύπριν ἐρωὴ,
Ὀξυτέρην πέμπει τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς αἰδήν.

(17) Oriental Geography, p. 69.

that *Khisht* and *Comáredge* were both considered in the fourteenth century as holding a higher rank than can be now assigned to them, although the inhabitants have, probably, retained their character unaltered. "They are," says HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI, "two cities or towns "situate in the midst of the mountainous region of the "*garmsír* (or warm country); they have running streams, "and produce date-trees and corn, and nothing else. The "corn is watered here both artificially, and by rain; and "the men are thieves and highway robbers, expert in "the use of arms"(18). HA'FIZ ABRU's account of *Khisht* and *Comáredge* is borrowed almost verbally from the description above-quoted; he reduces them to small cities or towns, and adds, (what we found in one instance to be true) that the water was "warm and unpleasant"(19).

(18) خشت و کمارج دو شهرند در میان کوهستان گرمسیر اب روان دارند و جز درخت خرما و غله چیزي دیگر نبود و غله اش هم دیمي و هم ابي و مردم انجا سلح ورز باشند و دزد و راه زن

In this passage of the *Nozhat al Colúb*, (ch. 12), I suspected that *city* or *town* had been written through some mistake for *Village*. But my four manuscript copies agree in (شهر) *Shahr*. The word دیمي in this quotation is derived from دیمه, signifying (besides the face, heavy rain, and splendour) غله که اب بارآن حاصل میشود "corn of "which the growth is promoted by means of rain-water." MS. *Berhan Kattea*.

(19) He styles them شهرک *shahrek*, the diminutive of a city or town, and the water he describes as گرم و نا خوش *garm u nakhúsh*. MS. *Tarikh-i-Hafiz Abrú*. We might translate *nakhúsh* "unwholesome." It is often used for "sick," or, "unwell" in speaking of persons.

At an early hour on the second we commenced our journey from *Comáredge* and proceeded through the plain which, from haze and mist, resembled a beautiful lake inclosed within an amphitheatre of mountains, rising high above its surface, but not reflected as in the kindred phænomenon called by French travellers *mirage;* it constituted however, that deceptive appearance for which the Persians have various names(20).

Having penetrated many difficult passes of the *Kutel*, whilst the narrow valley of *Tang-i-Turkán* (تنگ ترکان) was below us on the right, we came to *Derís* (دریس), once a very large town; now inhabited only by a few poor people. Among the ruins (chiefly consisting of vaulted rooms and arches), I could remark but two buildings in a perfect state. The cemetery, through which our road lay, indicated an ample degree of former population, and was ornamented or guarded by the figure of a lion cut in stone(21). Five or six miles farther we reached our tents,

(20) Such as *Kuráb* (کوراب) *Kirir* (کویر) *Nemayesh áb* (نمایش اب), *Wálek* (والک) *Seráb* (سراب), &c.

(21) Some Persians of good general information acknowledged to me, that they knew not why sculptured lions were placed in many cemeteries, although the custom was, as they believed, very ancient. Niebuhr says that they marked the graves of such *pahlaváns* or wrestlers, as had attained celebrity for strength and skill; (Voyage, &c. Tome II. p. 143, Amst. 1780) I suspected in those figures a superstitious allusion to ALI, whom the Persians venerate under the title of *Shir-i-Khudá* شیر خدا or "Lion of God." And at a Turkish village where monuments of Christian worship

close to the fine garden of *Cazcrún*(کازرون), and about three quarters of a mile from that city. The journey of this day was twenty miles; in the course of it we saw some *rahdárics* (راهداري), houses on the road-side, where soldiers were stationed to protect passengers, and levy tolls on merchandise

The crowds of those who welcomed us with the noise of muskets and of musical instruments, were considerable; and women had assembled in great numbers to see the *ilchi frangki*, (ايلچي فرنكي) or European Ambassador. Many of these were well-dressed and did not much conceal their faces; some were comely. They understood that Sir Gore Ouseley travelled with his *hhárem;* and I heard one of them as the *palankín* and *cajávah* passed, eagerly exclaim to a little girl, in the true southern accent, "*biá, biá, Bíby Joon, zanhá-i ilchi oomadand:* "come, come," "BI'BY JOON, the Ambassador's wives are coming"(22).

still remained, I should have mistaken for the Lions above-mentioned, some large, rude, and very equivocal forms in the burial place; had not the heads exhibited an appearance of curled horns; and a poor Armenian who spoke Persian, assured me that they had been set up in honour of the *Barreh-i Khuda* برهٔ خدا or "Lamb of God."

(22) Her words were بيا بيا بيبي جان زنها ايلچي امدند To form plurals, whether in names of animals or of things without life, the modern Persians use *há* ها as an adjunct, even where *án* ان would seem more proper. It must, however, be allowed that some Grammarians regard those terminations as indifferently applicable in the formation of plurals, whatsoever may be the noun. See the Lexic. Perso-Turc. quoted by Graves, in his "Element. Ling. Pers. p. 27. (Lond. 1649). Father Angelo

Although it comprised great numbers of men, both on foot and on horseback, yet the *istikbál* was not such as *Cazerún* seemed to promise; for it wore the appearance of a very large town; and with the ruined buildings outside its walls, extended several miles along the foot of a steep and lofty mountain, (See the View which I sketched from our camp, Plate XVI). But the civil wars that spread desolation throughout all Persia within the last hundred years, reduced the population of this city from fifty or sixty thousand, to four or five thousand inhabitants, and of these, it is said, many have lately fled to other places from the rapacity and tyranny of their rulers.

I had not sufficient leisure for making personal researches; but from answers returned to my inquiries it is not improbable that vestiges of a Fire-temple and of other ancient monuments yet remain near *Cazerún*. Ebn Hauкal mentions some existing in his time, (the tenth century) at this city, of which he notices the pure air, the

in the *Clavis* prefixed to his Gazophyl. Ling. Pers. p. 12. &c. In familiar discourse, the plural of an adjective is sometimes formed by the addition of *ha*; thus I once heard two diminutive persons described as *dú kuchikhá*, دو کوچکها, or "the two little;" no substantive being expressed. And the MS. *Berhan Kattea* (in voce كاكو) has the word *pesser-zádekay* (پسرزادکای) for "grand-children, the descendants of a son." Bi'by Joon, (or rather Ja'n جان) is a name very frequent among Persian females; and I shall hereafter notice the work of Mirza Joon (or Ja'n), an ingenious man of letters at *Shiráz*.

well-water, and the plenty of fruits and crops(23). An author of the thirteenth century describes it as a very flourishing place, abounding in fruit, and environed with country-houses, gardens and date-groves. On the authority of ISTAKHRI he celebrates the linen made here, and a kind of garment called *shatvi* شطوي from *shatta* شطا a neighbouring district. Most of the houses stood on a rising ground, below which were the *bazárs*, or markets, and dwellings of the merchants. Here AZZAD AD' DOULEH constructed a publick edifice or *serai* سراي wherein persons assembled, skilled in all trades and having goods of every sort; the daily income arising from this *serai* amounted to ten thousand *direms*(24).

The claim of *Cazerún* to remote antiquity is supported by the testimony of several writers: and though TABRI the historian, and after him AMI'N RA'ZI, ascribe the foundation of it to King COBA'D, in the sixth century(25); yet many distinguished geographers inform us

(23) Oriental Geography, p. 95.—103.

(24) روزي ده هزار درم حاصل آن بود See the MS. *Seir al beléd* of ZAKARIA CAZVI'NI, in the account of *Cazerún*, (third climate).

(25) See the MS. *Tarikh-i-Tabri*, (in the history of COBA'D قباد) and the MS. *Heft Aklim* of AMI'N RA'ZI, in the account of *Cazerún*, (third climate). He styles this city "a mine of learned men," as I before remarked, See p. 187.

that it was built by TAHMURAS, a prince of the first dynasty; who reigned above eight hundred years before Christ.

That TAHMURAS was the founder of *Cazerún*, is affirmed by HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI; and he adds that it originally consisted of three villages, *Núred*, *Derbest*, and *Rahbán*, dependant on *Beshāvur*, (or *Shapúr*) until FIRU'Z, erected them into a city, which his son COBA'D augmented to a considerable size. That, as it had been formed of separate districts, there was, even at the time when he composed his geographical treatise, (the fourteenth century) a distance between its various buildings, many of which were mansions equal to castles. That it was furnished with water by means of three subterraneous conduits named respectively after the three villages; but that the people chiefly trusted to rain for a supply. That it afforded oranges, lemons, and different fruits of a warm climate, besides a kind of date called *jilán* (جیلن) such as could not be found in any other place; and that here was a manufactory of fine linen, which derived peculiar excellence from the water of the *Rahbán* conduit(35).

(35) کازرون—در اصل سه ده بوده است نورد و دربست و راهبان . &c.
See the MS. *Nozhat al Celúb*. ch. XII. I know not whether we may class among the fruit-trees which according to HAMDALLAH and other writers abounded at this place, the *Zarín Dirakht* (زرین درخت) or "Golden Tree," described in the MS. Dict. *Berhan Kattea*, as having leaves like the olive, and growing in great numbers at *Cazerún*.

HA'FIZ ABRU' attributes the foundation of *Cazerún* to TAHMURAS, and its destruction to the wars which happened when Alexander invaded Persia; it was rebuilt, he says, by SHAPU'R the son of ARDESHI'R; but again sunk into decay; and it appéars to have been, in the fifteenth century, but partially inhabited. That most of its great buildings had been formerly constructed on the plan of fortified villas, he imputes to fear of the *Shebángárians* who infested the neighbouring territories. The conduit of *Rahbán* yielded very little water; this, however, imparted an admirable whiteness to the linen steeped or washed in it, and the conduit beca me subject to the *diván* or board of revenue(27).

This writer, who often copies HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI, speaks of the villages from which *Cazerún* had been formed, its want of river-water, the people's dependence on rain, on wells, and the three conduits. It is, however, by no means singular in this deficiency; a traveller might wonder why considerable towns of Persia had been built in situations so remote from rivers, that an article indispensably necessary to the common purposes,

(27) See the MS. *Tarikh-i-Háfiz Abrú*, (account of *Cazerún*). The *Shebangarians* mentioned in this passage were people of *Shebángárah* (شبانکاره) which some reckon as a district of *Pars*, on the borders of *Kirman*; (See the MS Dict. *Berhan Kattea*); and others as a distinct province; thus HAMDALLAH devotes to it the thirteenth chapter of his *Nozhat al Colúb*, (Geographical Section).

the comforts and luxuries of life, could not be procured without much trouble and expense, and seldom in a state of original purity. It also excited my surprise that *Cazerún* thus disadvantageously circumstanced, should have drained of its population the neighbouring city of *Shapúr*; "which," as one of our Persian companions assured me, "occupied a plain resembling the terrestrial paradise in temperature of climate, and fertilty of soil; in the beauty and fragrance of its plants and flowers; and in the delicious coolness of its murmuring streams." He abruptly closed this poetical description, by mentioning in simple language, that the country about *Shapúr* yielded abundance of partridges, and other game, and was particularly adapted to the sport of hawking.

Much also was reported of the ruins and fine sculptures visible in that place, concerning which I had made extracts from various manuscripts; and, as the Ambassador thought proper to halt one day at *Cazerún*, that all who had suffered from heat and fatigue, might be enabled to overcome the remaining difficulties of their journey; I rejoiced in the opportunity of obtaining even a momentary sight of *Shapúr* and its antiquities, said to be distant only four *farsakhs*, or *farsangs* (between fourteen and fifteen miles).

The Ambassador, meanwhile, discovered, and took proper measures to frustrate, a plot devised for the assassination

of ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N; whose honourable mission to England; the kindness shewn him; and the riches supposed to have been lavished on him there; (for it was whispered that he had received from the East-India company an hundred thousand pounds) awakened the envy and jealousy of a formidable enemy; the more dangerous as he professed the warmest friendship. It is probable, also, that he attributed to the *Khán* a degree of influence over Sir Gore Ouseley, which, he might apprehend, would not be always exerted in a manner favourable to his own designs. Being himself in another quarter of the kingdom, his agents were instructed so to contrive ABU'L HASSAN's death on the road between *Bushehr* and *Shirá'z*, that it should appear either the result of an attack made by robbers, or of an accidental fall from his horse, among the rocks and precipices.

About this time there were in circulation some extraordinary rumours concerning NEBBI KHA'N, who had lately received orders to appear at court; where, many persons expected that he would lose his head. According to intelligence brought from *Tehrán*, the king expressed considerable displeasure on account of the *Demúkh* massacre, and on a former occasion had said to that *Vazír*; "thou knowest how I have punished "and disgraced two illustrious noblemen, the chiefs of

"tribes; thou, who art of mean origin, must not hope "to escape with the privation of eyes, like CHEBA'GH "ALI KHA'N (چراغ علي خان); or with a bastinado on the "soles of thy feet so severe that the nails shall drop off, "like NASSER KHA'N (نصر خان); for thy crimes, life "must be the forfeit." Notwithstanding this caution from a Monarch who rarely threatens in vain, and whose slightest command would have been the signal for instant execution; the minister returning to *Shirâz* persevered in his oppressive conduct; depopulating by excessive rapacity the towns and villages within his jurisdiction; and in consequence of the last summons from *Tchrân*, those who within a few days had not only endeavoured to palliate his guilt, but even talked of his good qualities, now openly acknowledged their delight at the prospect of his destruction, which they thought inevitable.

3. The Ambassador, accompanied by most of the English gentlemen, set out from *Cazerûn* at five in the morning, and having passed through *Deris*, turned off to the plain of *Shapûr*; which in apparent fertility, in beauty and in its limpid streams, seemed worthy of the praises above recorded. The report, also, with respect to game was fully justified; for the *Mehmândâr's* hawk, within an hour, killed several partridges and some other birds. Thus my wish to see the amusement of hawking was

here gratified; but at the expense of time [illegible] certainly might have been much better employed in a spot studded with antiquities, which none of our travel-writers had visited; although the short, but sufficiently accurate description, heard and reported by Kæmpfer, (See his Amœn. Exot. p. 364), might have proved them fit objects of antiquarian research(28).

I contrived, however, in about three hours to obtain a glimpse of the most obvious and, perhaps, the principal remains both of the houses and publick buildings; with fragments of pillars and capitals which bespoke a Grecian or Roman hand; and of the numerous figures cut in tablets on the rock; and, whether executed by European or Persian artists, evidently monuments of the Sassanian King whose name has been conferred on the place, and whom we call *Sapores* or *Sapor*(29).

(28) At the time of this, his second visit, Mr. Morier's excellent account of his first excursion to *Shapúr* was in the London press, from which it issued in 1812; enriched with notes and illustrations by the learned editor, Mr. Inglis, who has ingeniously compressed into a few pages, the result of such multifarious reading and elegant inquiry, that it would disappoint the publick hope were one so qualified to shine as an original author, much longer contented with celebrity acquired as a commentator.

(29) The modern *Shapúr* (شاپور) has been softened or abridged from the original name *Shahpuhri*, as it appears on various medals and gems, and in *Pahlavi* inscriptions on marble, which I copied at Persepolis and shall give engraved in another part of this work, as they seem to have escaped the notice of preceding travellers.

Having heard that the hills bounding this plain contained many vestiges of ancient castles and temples, I sketched on first entering it, the distant appearance of some ruins which it was not in my power to examine more nearly. They were situate on the side of a mountain (See Plate XVII), and resembled some brick-works of the early *Muselmáns*; yet future researches may perhaps exalt them into the remains of a Fire-Temple, and I regret that it was not in my power to inspect them more closely. I must also regret, that my view of another ruin was hasty and indistinct; for, as a peasant afterwards informed me, it is called the *átish kaddah* (آتشکده) or "Fire-Temple," and one of my English companions thought that a rude sculpture which he noticed in it, had been designed to represent a *Bull*. The Manuscript *Súr al beldán* (in a passage comprising some difficulties which I shall not here stop to discuss) gives the name of *Gaow-ser* (گاوسر) or "bull-headed," to a Fire-Temple existing at this place in the tenth century; and called, according to the printed work of EBN HAUKAL, (گاوش) *Gawsh* or *Kawsh*,[99]).

(99) Orient. Geogr. p. 95 The difference between *Gaowser* and *Gawsh* (گاوش and گاوسر) arises merely from inaccurate penmanship in one of the original MSS. It is not surprising that a "bull's head" should appear among the ornamental sculptures of an ancient edifice in this country; *if*, as FIRDAUSI relates, the steel mace with which FERIDU'N, one of the earliest Persian Kings, destroyed the tyrant ZOHA'K, was made in the form of a bull's head, and therefore called *Gaow ser* and *gaow-peiger* (گاو پیکر); *gaow-chehr* (گاو چهر) &c. In the army also of CAI KHUSRAU, (Cyrus), we find that a bull's, or

To the extremity of this mountain I proceeded, and turning on the right, observed that its rocky surface was chisselled into various tablets or compartments, exhibiting the forms of chiefs and warriors, victorious and vanquished.

The study during many years of gems and medals, which by their inscriptions in the *Pahlavi* language incontestably proved that they belonged to Princes of the Sassanian dynasty, had rendered so familiar the countenances of several, that, even without any expectation of seeing him represented here, I should have easily recognised in the principal figure of each perfect compartment, the mighty SHA'PU'R, who styled himself the "king of kings," and whom we might pronounce the vainest of monarchs if all the similar monuments visible in Persia were executed by his own desire. Such commemorate his glory, not only at the spot which bears his name, but at *Nakhsh-i-Rustam* and *Nakhsh-i-Rejeb*, near

buffalo's head was the device on a general's banner, درفشي بنيان سر گاوميش and this general was from *Istakhr*, or Persepolis, according to one fine copy of the *Shahnámeh* which I shall more particularly examine when tracing armorial ensigns to an Eastern source. RUSTAM, the chief hero of Persian Romance, appears in many illuminated MSS. wielding a ponderous *bull-headed* mace. That the bull or ox was of great importance in ancient mythology is well known, from the works of various learned writers besides Vossius (De Idololatria), and Bryant: (Analysis, &c). Indeed a sufficient number of most satisfactory proofs may be found *passim*, in one valuable work, the "Recherches sur les Arts de la Grèce," of M. D'Hancarville, an antiquary able and accomplished, though sometimes fanciful; who traces the emblematick ox or bull to sculptures at Persepolis, and to ages that preceded Zoroaster. (Rech. Tome II. Supplem. p. 130, 134, &c).

the ancient capital of his empire; and I beheld memorials of his triumph at *Darábgerd* in the south, and at *Rai* in the north(31).

On the first tablet at *Shapúr* (of which my little sketch, Plate XVII. fig. *a*, will convey some idea) may be traced, though indistinctly, the form of a captive or suppliant, between two horsemen, from one of whom he seems with extended arms to solicit mercy. The figures are of gigantick proportions, but much effaced, and it is scarcely possible to ascertain the outlines of SHAPU'R; for him I would suppose that personage whose mercy the suppliant implores, and beneath whose horse's feet, we discern the lifeless body of some foe; a barbarous but expressive attribute that designates the royal conqueror in different places; and may, perhaps, tend to confirm the report of a Greek historian, who relates that Sapores filled with his slaughtered enemies, the fissures and hollow places between rising grounds, so that he and his Persian horsemen might ride over their bodies as on a plain(32).

(31) Perhaps he found some pleasure in contemplating his own image thus conspicuous in so many parts of his dominions; for TABRI informs us that "SHAPU'R was of a very beautiful countenance," و شاپور سخت نیکوروی بود which so fascinated an Arabian Princess that she betrayed her father and his citadel into the hands of his mortal foe, the Persian Monarch.

(32) Ης και τὸ σφαγγώδες και κοιλα χωρία τῶν ἐν τοις ὄρεσι φραγμῶν, τοις σώμασιν ἀναπλήσων των πεπτωκότων ἀνδρῶνων, και πρὸς ἑκάτερα φέρειν τον λόφον τὸ ἔλαττον και ἐξανίσχοντα, και οὕτω καθιππάζειν ἐν αὐτοις και ἐναβαίνειν ὑπερ ὀφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν ἀφορμίαν. Agath. Hist. Lib. III. p. 120. (Lugd. Bat. 1594).

This attribute is found in the next tablet, a fine piece of sculpture, forty one feet long and about twenty feet high; divided into several compartments, and containing so many figures and each figure requiring such minute detail that, having sketched a few, I laid aside my pencil, feeling that kind of despair which arises from the contemplation of a task too great to be performed within the time allowed. On the opposite bank of the river other tablets appeared, claiming examination; and manuscripts had informed me that a cavern here concealed objects no less extraordinary than those immediately within the traveller's notice. I therefore resolved to see, however hastily, all sculptures offering themselves for inspection, and to seek among the rocks and recesses of the mountains, those vestiges of antiquity indicated by Persian writers, and by local report. To my inertness, also, concerning the great monument, I was reconciled by considering, that Mr. Morier had already delineated five or six of the principal figures; and that Major D'Arcy had undertaken the general view with which he has permitted me to decorate this work, and which in its extensive range comprehends that interesting sculpture; (See Plate XVIII). SHA'PU'R conspicuous from the globular ornaments above his crown, and mounted on a spirited charger, leads by the right hand one captive Roman, whilst another kneels before him in the attitude of submission. Facing him are several men on foot, of

whom some appear to carry standards and trophies; among the figures which I sketched were three, holding certain things that suggested a momentary idea of musical instruments; they are, probably, articles of the Roman spoil, (See Plate XVII. fig. *b*). Near the King's horse there is a short inscription, of which my copy, from accidental obliteration, retains only those characters represented in the Miscellaneous Plate, (No. 18). They are placed in a direction nearly perpendicular, like legends on the Fire-altars of some Sassanian medals, and the lines on a stone Fire-altar which I discovered between *Shirá:* and *Fasa* (or *Pasa*, the supposed Pasagarda), and shall describe hereafter. Behind the king are two ranks of Persian horsemen; a little winged and naked child, resembling our common representation of an angel or a cupid, seems to bear towards him one of those fillets which Eastern princes bound on their foreheads as emblems of royal authority; the ends of a similar fillet wave on the conqueror's shoulders; and one, (with the tiara) is offered to his descendant VARHARA'N, or BAHRA'M on medals which exhibit it in the hand of a youth or prince(35). But as the angel is evidently an

(35) See a gold medal of the *Cabinet du Roi* at Paris (in the Third Supplement to Pellerins "Receuil de Medailles," Pl. H. p. 40). Of this medal I decipbered the *Pahlavi* inscription, as o another (silver) preserved in the Hunterian Museum and exhibiting the same device. See "Observ. on some Med. and Gems," &c. (Lond. 1801), Section I. and the frontispiece.

allegorical personage, (and, not improbably, the work of Grecian or Roman captives); we may, perhaps, suppose an allusion to the victory by which SHAPU'R had transferred to his own brow, the diadem of a fallen Monarch(34).

It can scarcely be doubted that this was Valerian, the Roman Emperor, vanquished near Edessa (in the year of Christ 260), by Sapor the son of Artaxerxes, as our historians denominated SHAPU'R the first; who during the life of his father ARDESHI'R, was admitted to the participation of supreme dominion, according to Persian writers; and their account is confirmed by at least one fine sculpture near Persepolis, and a very rare medal, preserved in the Pembroke cabinet(35). All the most

(34) Under the Arsacidan dynasty, which SHAPU'R's father had overthrown, the Persians were accustomed to see allegorical figures, a goddess, a genius, or a victory, on medals of their kings: presenting, like the angel at *Mayún*, a tiara, a garland, or a palm-branch. Of those medals (which bore Greek inscriptions) Vaillant, Pellerin, and other numismatical writers, have given many engravings. Some also, are in my own collection; one, found whilst I was at *Tehrán*, (in May 1812) among the neighbouring ruins of *Rai* (or Rhagès), is of silver, and corresponds to that medal which Vaillant would assign to the first or second Arsaces (Arsacid. Imp. pp. 8-17, &c. Paris 1728); but Pellerin, perhaps more justly, to the thirteenth: Mithridates, III (Recueil de Med. pl. 149. Pl. XV). On this we see Pallas offering to the Monarch a crown or wreath with pendent fillets. That those Arsacidans coined money with *Pahlavi* legends more peculiarly for the use of their Persian subjects, I have elsewhere remarked, (See "Observ. on Gems and Medals, &c. Sect. VII); and will hereafter show from some silver coins which I possess.

(35) I particularly allude to those figures of which Mr. Morier has given the outlines in his "Journey through Persia," &c. Plate XIX. p. 138, and on which some observations shall be offered in my account of Persepolis. These and other sculptured figures at

important facts that Greek and Latin records furnish, concerning Sapor, have been judiciously collected by Gibbon; who applied in vain to D'Herbelôt for Persian accounts of that victory which must have proved so flattering to the conqueror's fellow-countrymen; and the English historian might have regretted, as on another subject, that the celebrated French orientalist had not found and used a Persian translation of TABRI's Arabick Chronicle composed in the ninth century(36). I have consulted different copies of this version; the nearest approximation

the same place (now absurdly called *Nakhsh i Rejeb* (نقش رجب) or the "Portrait of REJEB"), represent, in my opinion the admission of SHAPU'R to a share in the royal authority; expressed by the *tiara* and *fillets* attached to it, which he and his father ARDESHI'R hold between them. The medal bearing in *Pahlavi* characters, on one side the name of ARDESHI'R, and on the other of SHAPU'R, may be seen in the "Pembroke Collection," (Part. II. Plate 37) and, thence copied, in the "Antiquary's Magazine or Archæological Library," (No. III), illustrating a memoir which I communicated (in 1808), to the editor of that work; proving from TABRI and FIRDAUSI, SHA'PU'R's participation of empire with his father, which the Pembroke medal confirmed, and to which the sculpture, discovered, or at least delineated, since that time, indubitably alludes. It is also the subject of a fine sculpture at *Firuzabád*, (the place anciently called *Júr* or *Gúr*), as I judge from the drawing made there by Major D'Arcy.

(36) "So little has been preserved of Eastern history before Mahomet, that the "modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious "to their nation. See Bibliotheque Orientale." (Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. x. note 160). "Amidst our meagre relations, I must regret, that "D'Herbelôt has not found and used a Persian translation of TABARI, enriched, as he "says, with many extracts from the native historians of the Ghebers or Magi." (Gibb. Rom. Emp. (chap. LI. note 33). The copy of TABRI's Chronicle which I chiefly quote (after a collation with three others more modern, in my own collection), was transcribed in the year 1446, and fills two large folio volumes.

to "Valerianus," that they afford, is *Arvánus* (اروانوس). and *Ariánus* (ريانوس). But that these names indicate Valerian appears from TABRI's description of the person who bore them; for he was one of the Roman Sovereigns (ملكي بود از رومیان) who having been conquered by SHAPU'R in a fort near Antioch, was led into Susiana; where the Persian Monarch undertaking some extensive structures (at *Shushter*), obliged his captive to assist in the work, by procuring experienced artists from Rome or Greece, and he promised that liberty should be the reward of this co-operation. The task was performed, and SHAPU'R observed his promise; but first cut off the Roman Chieftain's nose, to brand him with an indelible mark of captivity(37).

The Chronicle composed by BENA'KETI in 1317, expresses very distinctly the name of "Valerianus," and of his son "Gallienus" who having reigned conjointly fifteen years,

(37) پس ان رومي را ازاد کرد و بيني او ببريد و گفت جاره نيست ترا از داغ اسيري MS. *Tarikh-i-Tabri*. Another copy exaggerates the cruelty of SHAPU'R; "then he cut off "the nose, and under lip, of that Roman king." پس لب زيرين ببريد According to our historians the defeat or capture of Valerian, (for some say he was treacherously seized), happened near Edessa. TABRI assigns it to "a fortress in the "land of *Antakish* or Antioch." بزمين انطاكيه بحصار But these accounts are easily reconciled; for Edessa was one of many places which at different times bore the name of Antioch; "Edessam quæ quondam Antiochia dicebatur." (Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. V. c. 24); and it was distinguished (for its celebrated fountain), by the addition of "Callirhoe." Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐπὶ Καλλιρρόῃ, or πρὸς Καλλιρόῃν, as the learned Bayer has remarked, in his "Historia Osrhoena et Edessena." p. 11. (Petrop. 1734).

"were conquered by the Persian army, and made prisoners; and the king of the Persians placed his foot on "the neck of Valerianus, and then mounted his horse"(38). But BENA'KETI compiled his account of the *Kaisars* or Cæsars, evidently from Greek and Latin writers, either directly or indirectly. In his very brief History of the Persian kings according to Eastern tradition, he has neglected to mention Valerian. That this Roman Emperor served as a foot-stool to Sapor when he ascended a vehicle or mounted on a horse; that his old age closed in a miserable state of slavery; or in the agonies of a most cruel death; we learn from a crowd of our historians(39). But in all the sculptures, that I have seen, (particularly one of considerable size and beauty near *Darábgerd*) representing together Sapor and Valerian, probably at their first interview, the conqueror appears

(38) ولريانوس و پسرش كلديانوس بعد از آن بمشاركت پانزده سال قيصري كردند واز لشكر پارس شكسته شدند و اسير كشتند و پادشاه فرس پاي بر گردن ولريانوس مي نهاد و بر اسب مي نشست MS. *Tarikh-i-Benaketi*, or *Bekr al insáb*.

(39) See Trebellius Pollio, Lactantius, Rufus Festus, Eutropius, Zosimus, Agathias, and others. Lactantius is content with flaying the body of Valerian, after his death; and placing the skin, as a horrible trophy, in one of the Persian temples. "Postea vero quam pudendam vitam in illo dedecore finivit, direpta est ei cutis," &c. (Lact. de Mortib. Persecut. 5). Agathias, however, declares that according to many accounts, Sapor caused the imperial Roman to be flayed alive. "Ὅτι δὲ Βαλεριανὸν τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα τότε βασιλεία προσπολεμήσαντά οἱ, καὶ ἅτε γεγηρακότα ἤδη, ζωγρεία ἑλὼν," &c. Agath. Hist. Lib. IV. (p. 128. Lugd. Bat. 1594).

mercifully inclined towards his illustrious captive, then sinking under the weight of misfortune, and of his seventieth year. But the chisel may have been guided by adulation, or employed before the infliction of cruelty.

Equal or perhaps superior in magnitude to the tablet at *Shápúr* which I have above described, but separated from it by the river, is an extraordinary sculpture, containing in various compartments, a multiplicity of figures; here also, SHAPU'R is easily distinguished. Some outlines traced on the spot, (Plate XVII. fig. *c*), show the general form of this tablet, and of its subdivisions, with the situation occupied by the king; he is on horseback, his guards and attendants are numerous; we see a lion, an elephant with his Indian rider, a vase and other offerings brought before the conqueror.

Cut in the same rock are different tablets exhibiting sculptures apparently designed, like those above mentioned, to commemorate the glory of SHAPU'R; his triumphs and the presents or tribute which he received. Several camels, in one compartment, called to my recollection the splendid gift, sent to him by Odenathus of Palmyra, the husband of Queen Zenobia(49). But so transient was my

(49) See Peter Patricius in the "Excerpta de Legationibus ex Dexippo, Eunapio, &c. p. 29. Paris. 1609. oct. That the almost incredible number of ten thousand camels

view that I could only note a few particulars of those remains. The artist has in some instances rendered SHAPU'R's figure disproportionately larger than the others; and we find that in his time the Persians rode without stirrups, and wielded straight swords. A led horse appears in one sculpture here, saddled; but the saddle is without stirrups. It might, I think, be very easily proved, that stirrups and long crooked swords were not used in Persia, at least generally, before the invasion of that country by the Arabs. But it was a custom of remote antiquity in the East, (and is still practised by Indian and Persian painters), to represent the king or chief hero as larger, beyond all natural proportion, than any other person in the same piece. Thus we find that the old Egyptian artists, in those extraordinary sculptures which adorn the ruins of Thebes, have rendered the conqueror in a battle-scene, "of colossal "size, that is, far larger than all the other warriors," as a most able antiquary informs us(41).

attended the Persian king when he travelled, was alleged by the effeminate Heliogabalus to extenuate his own luxury in having six hundred carriages. "Imperator vero "etiam sexcenta vehicula dicitur duxisse, asserens decem millibus camelorum Persarum "regem iter facere." Æl. Lamprid. in Heliogab. p. 501. (Hist. August. Script. Lugd. Bat. 1661). But those camels on the sculptures are represented as approaching, not following or attending SHAPU R.

(41) See "Remarks on several parts of Turkey; (Part I. Ægyptiaca." p. 315). by William Hamilton, Esq. F. A. S. The plates (VIII. and IX). with which this learned writer has illustrated his work, confirm Monsieur Denon's account of those sculptures.

Of the morning spent at *Shapúr*, much was consumed among the mountains and precipices, in a fruitless search after caverns, said to be so spacious, that in many of them ten horse-men might ride abreast; and so intricately extensive that a person well acquainted with their secret recesses, might for years elude the pursuit of strangers. They were considered, although probably natural, as excavations made by the *Gabrs*; but my desire to explore them had been chiefly excited by a passage in the *Nozhat-al-Colúb*, indicating near this place "a black "statue of a man, (or statue of a black man) of considera- "ble size; which some pronounced a talisman, and others "regarded as the form of a person whom God had turned "into stone. The princes of that country," adds the manuscript, "hold this image in high respect and veneration; they "go on pilgrimages to visit it and anoint it with oil"(42).

wherein the hero appears as a young man six feet high, whilst the soldiers whom he commands "ont à peine pour proportion le quart de sa grandeur," as that celebrated French traveller observes, in his "Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte." Appendix, p. xxvi. (Lond. 1802). The Egyptian conqueror is not content, like SHAPU'R, that his horse should trample on the slain; we behold him treading on human bodies himself, in Mr. Hamilton's ninth Plate. I might, when incidentally mentioning on a former occasion, (See p. 236), the ancient wrestling; have referred to another of his interesting Plates; (XXII).

(42) شکل مردي سیاه است و پیکل مردي بزرگ بود بعضي گویند طلسم است وبرخي گویند که مردي بوده که خداي تعالي اورا سنگ گردانیده و شاهان ان ولایت ان صورت را معزز و مکرم دارند و بزیارتش روند و روغن بران مالند

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. Geogr. ch. 12.

An inquiry into this honour of unction (which if directed to a statue of SHAPU'R, I cannot suppose any religious ceremony) might seduce me into the maze of Jewish and Grecian antiquity; where Jacob's pillar at *Bethel*, and the stones (generally *black)* called *Bætulia* or *Bætuli,* would present themselves to view. But I must not here indulge in such a digression.

According to the Persian work of SHEIKH ZARKU'B. "It is related that amongst the mountains of this place "there is a vast fissure; and at its entrance a statue of "SHAPU'R the son of ARDESHI'R, whose sculptured "representation is ten cubits high; and in this chasm is "a whirlpool, the depth of which has never been ascer-"tained"(43).

A fabulous account of SHAPU'R's statue is given in a Turkish work, preserved among the manuscripts at the British Museum; and that Volume celebrates also the image of a beautiful woman said to be visible near the city of *Shapúr*. Both stories are illustrated with pictures, evidently the work of imagination. Yet female forms, although we did not discover any, may have been found

(43) نقلست که در کوهستان شاپور شکفتي عظيم هست و بر در ان غار صورت شاپور بن اردشير و قامت اوده زرع تراشيده اند و در اين شکفت کرداب عظيمست که عمق ان پديد نيست

MS. Shirúz Námah. chap. 1.

Shakspeare, p. 293.

here, as in other places, among sculptures of the Sassanian age(44).

A third manuscript, the *Tárikh Maajem*, declares that "SHAPU'R's statue, cut in marble under the form of a "pillar, was standing in the midst of a cave"(45); and subsequent researches have confirmed the accuracy of this description, although we sought the subject of it in vain. Major Stone, some weeks after, discovered the cavern, and SHAPU'R's statue of gigantick size, (fifteen feet six inches long) fallen on the ground; and Plate XIX, is engraved from a drawing of it, which that accomplished officer communicated to the Ambassador. Indeed guides were procured from a neighbouring village, but at too late an hour, who would willingly have conducted us to the cavern. This was reported to be extremely dark, by

(44) The Turkish MS. to which I refer, is in the Harleian Library, and numbered 5500. The fabulous account of SHAPU'R's statue begins thus,

روایتدر که ولایت فارسدن شابور نام شهره بر اول &c.

And the next story beginning thus,

روایتدر که اول مجلده محکم طاشدن بر عورت تصویر &c.

relates that at *Shapúr* was the stone image, *admirably* carved, of a woman, ornamented with an ear-ring. Such was the beauty of this image, that king KHUSRAU PARVI'Z endeavoured to carry it away: but not being able to remove it far from its original situation, he caused the beautiful statue to be placed on the road side, where it is said to continue an object of admiration to the present day; but of this, adds our Turkish author, الله اعلم "God best knows the truth."

(45) وصورت شاپور از سنگ تراشیده اند و بشکل ستوني درمیان غار ایستاده

one of those peasants, who talked to me of the king's figure; a throne; and other sculptures there which he had often seen. The MS. *Tárikh Maajem* having mentioned, in words above-quoted, the columnar statue, further says that, "on the other side there is a similar fissure or "opening (among the mountains) where images and "likenesses have been carved"(46). But this probably alludes to the great tablet already noticed, the same, in my opinion, that EBN HAUKAL describes. In his vague account, however, all may be included. Of the writings with portraits preserved by persons at the time when he travelled (the tenth century), and which recorded the history of those illustrious men, represented in the sculptures; a foreigner hastily passing after a lapse of eight hundred years, could scarcely hope to find even a fragment(47). Yet from those or similar writings, with or without pictures, the author of a most valuable work, entitled *Mudjmel al Tuárikh*, "A Compendium or Abstract of Chronicles;" and composed early in the twelfth century; seems to

(46) و از طرفي ديكر همچنين شعبي هست و صورتها بران نكاشته اند و تمثلها انكيخته
Merely cut in *relief*, we may suppose; as at Persepolis and other places. Among sculptured representations of the human form, SHAPU'R's colossal statue was, probably, singular in Persia, if so detached by the original artist from a mass of stone, that the spectator could walk round it, as an insulated column.

(47) Having mentioned the statues of kings, generals, high-priests, and other illustrious men, sculptured on the mountain at *Shápúr*, EBN HAUKAL adds, "and in "that place are some persons who have representations of them, and the stories of "them written." See the Orient. Geogr. of Ebn Hauk. (p. 129).

have derived materials for his chapter on what we may style, by a borrowed term, the royal Sassanian *Costume*; for he often quotes the "Book of Portraits of the Sas-"sanian kings;" and the sculptures at *Shápúr*, as far as I could discern, have no relation to any other dynasty(48).

It may seem doubtful whether this "Book of Portraits" contained actual delineations, (as the name would imply), or merely verbal descriptions; for the *Mudjmel al Tuárikh* thus quotes it on the subject of ARDESHI'R; "and in the "*Kitáb Suret-e-Padshahán beni Sassán*, or Book of Portraits "of Sassanian kings," *it is related that*, &c(49). But this expression, in the vague manner of Eastern citation, may signify nothing more than *according to* the Book, &c. And that some painted representations of those kings had existed within a few centuries, might be inferred from the minute details of attitudes and colours given in certain tables of different Persian manuscripts(50). Indeed the account

(48) The *Mudjmel al Tuárikh* (مجمل التواريخ) from which I transcribed the chapter on Sassanian *Costume*, and other parts whilst at Paris in 1816; may be considered one of the most valuable Persian manuscripts preserved in any European collection. It belongs to the Bibliothèque du Roi, and is numbered 62. The author, whose name does not appear, dates his work in the (Mohammedan) year 520, or of our era 1126; and the copy was written in 813.—(1410).

(49) و اندر کتاب صورت پادشاهان بني ساسان گفته است که &c.

(50) The *Assah al Tuárikh* (اصح التواريخ) an excellent historical work composed in 1427; and the supplemental introduction to some copies of TABRI's Chronicle

of SHA'PU'R's dress, in the *Mudjmel al Tuárikh* above-noticed, mentions colours, yet may not have been actually taken from painted representations. The passage is this; "And in the *Book of Portraits* his *piráhen*, (a kind of small "shirt) is said to have been of a sky-blue colour; his "trowsers of fine red silk: he wears a red *tádje* or diadem "on his head, and stands, grasping a spear in his hand"(31).

Whatever may be discovered at *Shápúr* by future travellers, none of the monuments which I examined, seemed to claim an earlier date than the age of that Sovereign from whom the place has derived its name; yet the situation might have attracted some of his predecessors; and many authors assign to it a city founded above ten centuries before he ascended the throne. "It was ori-"ginally built," according to HAMDALLAH CAZWI'NI,

exhibit tables very briefly describing the Sassanian *Costume*, and differing in some trifling circumstances not only from each other but from the *Mudjmel al Tuárikh*; thus in the first-mentioned MS. we find SHA'PU'R having "a crown on his head, and "a sky-blue *piráhen*, or inner garment," whilst in the supplement to TABRI, he is described as "wearing a crown on his head and wielding a spear." I have above extracted a more full account from the MS. *Mudjmel al Tuárikh*, and must reserve for another place some observations concerning ancient *Costume*, and conjectures on the "Book of Portraits."

(31) و در کتاب الصور اورا پراهن اسمان کون کوید و شلوار وشي سرخ و تاج سرخ
MS. *Mudjmel al Tuárikh*. درسر ایستاده نیزه در دست کرفته
The fine silk mentioned here by the name of *Vashi*, was so called from *Vash* (وش) a city in *Turkestán*, famous for the manufacture of it: as I learn from the MS. Dictionary *Berhan Kated*.

"by TAHMURAS, entitled *Dia-band*, (the vanquisher and "enchainer of demons) who called it *Dindiládár*. Alexan- "der of Greece ruined and levelled it with the ground, "when he conquered Persia; and it was rebuilt by SHAPU'R, "the son of ARDESHI'R BABEGA'N, who gave it his "own name, as being originally *Bena-i-Shapúr*, or an edifice "erected by SHAPU'R; in process of years through a "gradual corruption of language, and change or reduction "of letters, this became *Beshápur*"(52).

We find it noticed in the Chronicle of HA'FIZ ABRU', as "anciently founded by TAHMURAS, when, in all the "province of *Fars* there was not any other city besides "*Istakhr*, (or Persepolis). In those days, it was called "*Dindilá*," according to the same historian, who adds, that Alexander ruined it so completely as to leave no vestiges, and that SHAPU'R rebuilt it(53). In like manner, SHEIKH ZARKU'B ascribes the foundation of this city to TAHMURAS, and its destruction to "DHU'L KARNEIN," or

(52) طهمورث ديوبند ساخت و دين دلادار خواند اسكندر رومي بوقت فتح فارس انرا بكلي خراب كرد شاپور بن اردشير بابكان از نو عمارت كرد و شاپور خواند بنام خود اصل ان بنا شاپورست بمرور ايام از ادغام و حذف حرف بشاور شد
MS. *Nozhat al Colúb.* (Geogr. ch. 12).

(53) بنا اين شهر تقديم طهمورث كرده بوقتي كه در فارس جز اصطخر هيچ شهر نبود و نام اين موضع در ان ايام دين دلا بود
MS. *Tarikh-i-Háfiz Abrú.*

"the *two horned*" (Alexander), at the time when he invaded Persia"(54). To multiply extracts from different manuscripts, asserting the existence of a city here, in ages long before the Christian era, would be easy, but appears unnecessary; as the authors acknowledge that it had been completely ruined. Yet we must not weigh too nicely the exact import of every word or phrase used by Persians in descriptions of this kind. FIRDAUSI, (as the Appendix will show), ascribes to King SHA'PU'R the castle and town called after him; and constructed with the assistance of his Roman captive BERA'NU's. We find *Balerianos*, used by a Greek writer, to express the name of Valerian. (See p. 288, note 39).

The delights of *Shapúr* have been celebrated by various writers; the "fragrance exhaling from its gardens and shady bowers which charmed all that sojourned there; the trees of every sort, the corn and rice, the fruit of cold and of warm climates; especially the grapes and oranges, lemons, dates and mulberries, growing in such profusion that they bore no value, and passengers might gather them as they pleased: the abundance of beautiful and odoriferous flowers; the water-lilies, narcissuses, violets, and jasmines; the silk, honey, wax, and oil, sold at a low rate"(55),

(54) و چون ذو القرنین بفارس آمد انرا خراب گردانیده. &c. MS. *Shirázi Námah.*

(55) This is the sum of various flowery descriptions scattered through different MSS. the *Seir al Belád; Nozhat al Colúb; Tarikh-i-Háfiz Abrú; Súr al Beldán;* &c.

all combined to render *Shapúr* the seat of luxury and of comfort; but could not save it from decay. Although this city became subject to the *Muselmáns* so early as the year 643 of our era(56), yet its Fire-temple was probably frequented in the tenth century, by numerous votaries; as the disciples of Zoroaster (or ZERA'USHT) appear at that time, to have enjoyed religious toleration. For the *Muselmans*, also, it had then, as EBN HAUKAL informs us (p. 90), a pulpit or oratory, which marks it as a place of note(57).

We find, however, that, early in the fifteenth century when HA'FIZ ABRU' composed his "*Chronicle*" both this city and *Cazerún* had suffered much from the passing of foreign armies and the tyranny of great men, which caused a dispersion of the people; and this historian expresses his hopes "that the victorious government would

(56) Or of the *Hejrah* 23, under OMAR. See the MS. *Tarikh i-Tabri*, in the account of that *Khalifeh's* conquests.

(57) The *Gabrs*, Christians, and Jews who existed here in the tenth century, are mentioned by EBN HAUKAL; (Orient. Geogr. p. 216). But the passage is given more fully in the MS. *Súr al Beldán*, thus,

و امّا دينها ايشان اوّل در ولاية پارس جهود و ترسا و كبر مي باشد و صابي و سامري نيز هست

"But concerning their religions; first, there are in the land of *Pars*, Jews, and "Christians, and *Gabrs*, or Fire-worshippers; and there are likewise Sabians and "Samaritans." The remains of a magnificent church, at *Shápúr*, are noticed by Father Angelo; they bore, in his time, (from 1664 to 1673) the name of (كليسيا) *Kelisia* (Ecclesia). See the Latin, French and Italian columns of the Gazophylacium Pers. p. 368. In the Persian column he adds that *Kelisia* signifies a place of worship of the Christians, or believers in the Messiah. يعني معبدي مسيحيان

"rebuild those towns and restore them to a flourishing "condition"(58). These patriotick wishes have not been accomplished in respect to *Shapúr*; and the writers who praise most highly its beauty and fertility, mention, likewise, two local circumstances which perhaps, collaterally, may account for the desertion of its inhabitants; "the air," according to HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI, "is warm, and being "confined on the north is impure"(59); the water, he adds, is derived from a considerable river called after the city. "But this water," says HA'FIZ ABRU', "becomes, "from the number of rice-fields, unpleasant and unwhole-"some"(60).

To some of our party however, it afforded very delicious draughts; and the streams abounded with fish. I felt much regret in leaving *Shapúr*; having passed but a few hours where an antiquary might find ample gratification for a week. But our *Mehmandár*, ZEKI KHA'N, took so little interest in the sculptures or ruins which he had never seen; that (as I observed, p. 264), he

(58) و حالا بفر دولت قاهره امید چنان است که به حال عمارت بار رسد
MS. *Tarikh Háfiz Abrú.*

(59) هوایش گرمسیرست و شمالش بسته و بدین سبب متعفن است
MS. *Nozhat al Colúb* Geogr. ch. 12).

(60) بجهت انکه برنج زار بسیار دارد و اب ان زخیم است و ناگوار
MS. *Tarikh Háfiz Abrú.*

slept under a neighbouring tree, whilst we were engaged in examining them; and this worthy nobleman left the place with us, carrying aloft in his right hand, as he galloped about offering to each person, several small, thin pieces of *kabáb* (کباب) or roasted meat, spitted on a slender stick three or four feet long; for, when composing himself to sleep, he had directed that his servants, accustomed on hunting-excursions, to prepare hasty repasts, should kill and cut up a lamb; for the roasting of this a few minutes sufficed after our return from the sculptures.

We went back in the evening to *Cázerún*; many of our servants here laid aside their turbans, which they had hitherto worn after the Arabian fashion, and provided caps of black lamb-skin; a favourite article of dress with the present royal family the *Cajars* (قاجار); and from their example, almost universal among the Persians.

On the second at two o'clock, after noon, the thermometer was up to 71; at half past three on the third, it stood at 65; the nights here were cool.

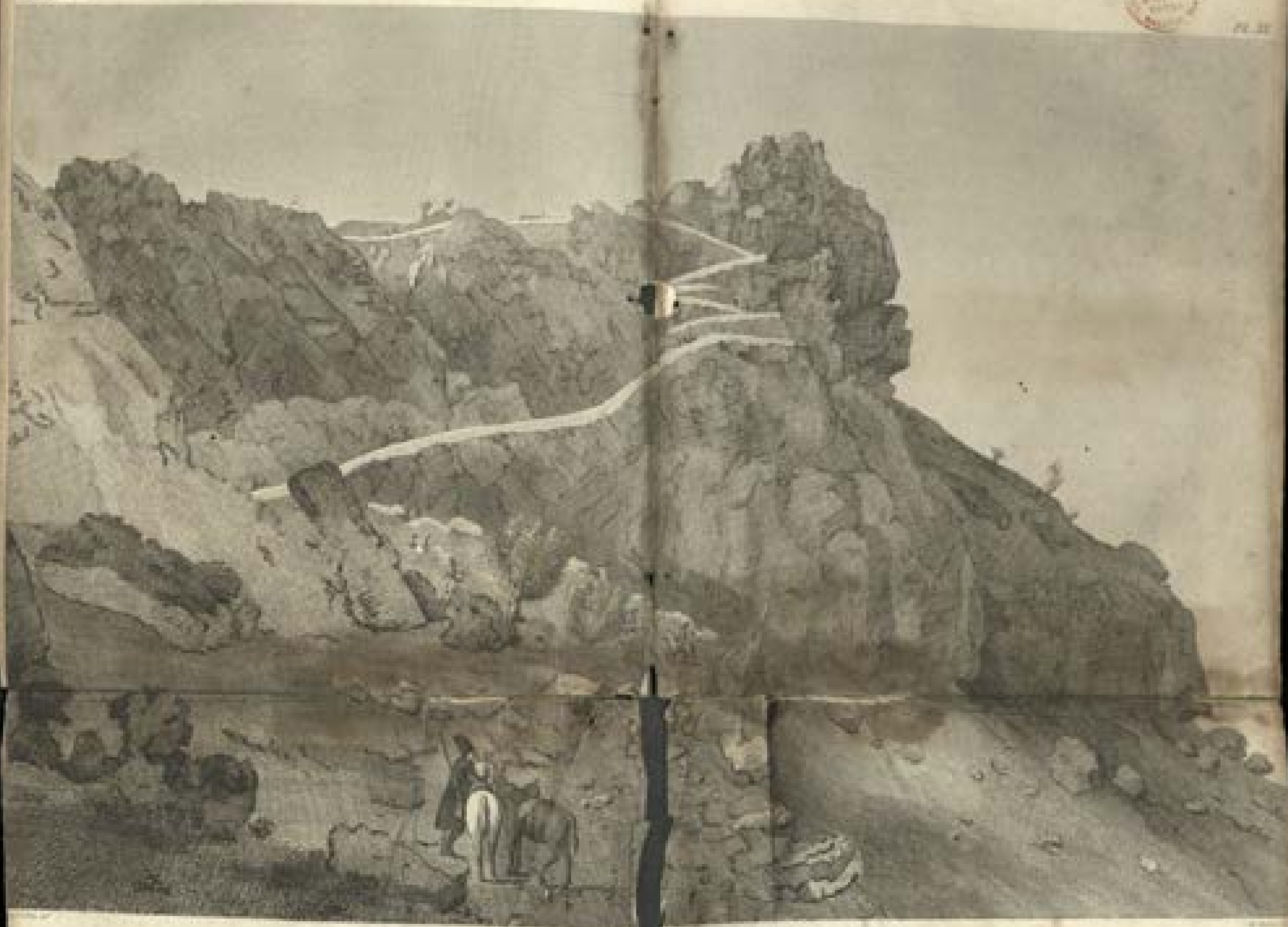
4. This morning at four o'clock, a loud and monotonous sound, proceeding as a native of *Cazerún* informed me, from the *book-i-hamoom*(61), announced that the city-

(61) So he pronounced بوق حمام *búk-i-hamám* "the trumpet of the bath". For this a horn is often used, and sometimes a conch. That the long *á* before *m* in

baths were heated and open for the reception of women; our trumpets, soon after, summoned us to march, and their notes were re-echoed with uncommon distinctness. During the first part of this day's journey, the road exhibited such numerous remains of houses, that *Cazerún*, connected on the other side with *Derís*, by the series of buildings still visible in ruins, might be said, with its gardens, to have once occupied a line of eight or nine miles. Near the town, we saw on the right, some walls and towers of the *Calaa-i-Jehúdán*, or "Jew's Castle," uninhabited and decaying, although apparently, of modern construction. The origin of its name, I could not discover; but the castle may have been a place allotted for the residence of Jews, who, as there is reason to believe, abounded formerly in this country. A writer of the tenth century, already quoted, (See note 57), enumerates them among the principal classes of those, not professing the Muselmán faith, who, at that time inhabited *Párs*.

We ascended by a steep and winding path, the *Kutel i-dókhter*, (کتل دختر) or "mountain-pass of the daughter or damsel;" which would, perhaps have exposed us to more dangerous situations than the *Kutels* already surmounted,

several words, as well as before *n*, is pronounced by the Southern Persians like *ou'oo* (or the French *ou*) I have remarked in the preface.



had not parapets been erected in several places at the expense of a benevolent merchant; from whom, however, some endeavoured to withold the praises due to philanthropy; insinuating that his motive for a work by which the publick benefitted, was merely private interest; a wish to save the mules laden with his merchandisé from perishing amongst the rocks and precipices.

For a view taken by myself, which expressed but faintly the asperities of this *Kutel*, and the difficulties of its tortuous road, I have gladly substituted a beautiful drawing, made by Major D'Arcy, and copied in Plate XX.

Our tents were pitched in the woody vale of A'BDU'I, (ابدوي) a pleasant spot surrounded by barren mountains. We did not arrive at the camp, until near eleven o'clock, having employed between five and six hours in performing a march of thirteen miles and a half; during this, we experienced various degrees of heat and cold, which did not always seem regulated by local elevation or depression. Here the Ambassador received a present of fruit from MIRZA ZEIN AL A'BEDEIN, (میرزا زین العابدین) who in the absence of NEBBI KHA'N, acted as *Vazir* or Minister to HUSEIN ALI MI'RZA, the Prince of *Shirâz*.

5. We proceeded, this day, by a stony path, up the *Kutel* called *Pîr a zan*, (پیرزن) or the "Old Woman;" a succession of steep hills, which it was a work of time

and difficulty to ascend. Having reached the summit, we were rewarded for our labour by a view over the *Desht-i-Arzhen*, a plain, where we could discern our white tents at the distance of eight or nine miles. Between *Abdúi* and the camp at *Desht-i-Arzhen*, we measured seventeen miles and a half. The plain seemed extensive but wore a wintry aspect, and the mountains around were nearly covered with snow. It must, however, in summer be very beautiful; and the Persians describe it as a perfect paradise; although they acknowledge that the neighbouring thickets are haunted by beasts of prey.

This confirms the account given by HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI, in his geographical treatise—"The verdant "meadows of *Desht-i-Arzhen*, forming a plain two farsangs "long, and one farsang broad, are situate," he says, "on "the borders of a lake; and in that territory is a forest "containing many ravenous lions"(62). The same geographer also informs us that "the water of the lake of *Desht-*"*i-Arzhen* in *Fars*, is pleasant, and in the spring-season "very abundant, but during summer much reduced. "*Shiráz* is chiefly supplied with fish from this lake, "which in circumference is three farsangs, or according

(62) مرغزار دشت ارژن بر کنار بحیره است که در آن صحراست و در آن حدود بیشه است که در آن شیر شرزه بسیار باشد طول این مرغزار دو فرسنگ و در عرض یکفرسنگ است

MS. *Nozhat al Co.úb.* (Geogr. ch. 12).

"to the work entitled *Súr al ákalím*, thirty"(63). The historian HA'FIZ ABRU' notices this fertile plain, situate near the lake of *Arzhen*, and the thicket or forest, which he styles "*a mine of lions*," and describes as being two farsangs in length and one farsang in breadth(64). During the march of this day, the country in general appeared wooded, and we saw many eagles.

Near our camp, was a spring of most excellent water; respecting this, the peasants mentioned two anecdotes, equally entitled to credit; one represented it, as having issued from the rock, through a miraculous influence of some holy personage immediately *after* he was born; the other, a few minutes *before*; and we heard that among the mountains, not very distant, was a narrow cleft, or fissure, by passing through which, a man of suspected birth might absolve himself from every imputation of illegitimacy. The *desht* or plain, derives its name of

(63) بحیره دشت ارژن بولایت فارس اب این بحیره شیرین است بوقت بهار ابش بسیار بود و بتابستان کم کردد اکثر مادي شیراز ازان دریاچه باسد و دورش سه فرسنک باشد و در صور الاقالیم امده که دورش سي فارسنک

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb* (chap. of Lakes).

(64) مرغزار دشت ارژن — این مرغزار بر کنار بحیره ارژن است و بیشه ایست معدن شیر طول ان دو فرسنک در عرض یک فرسنک

MS. *Tarikh-i-Háfiz Abrú*. I have before remarked, (See p. 187), the expression here used, *meaden-i shir*, "a mine of lions."

Arzhen, Arjen, Arzen, &c. from the tree so called, a species of the wild or mountain-almond. There is an absurd tradition, that MOHAMMED's son-in-law, ALI, (who never was in this country), saved from the jaws of a lion, among the forests at *Desht-i-Arzhen*, or *Arjenah*, an apostate Persian named SELMA'N (سلمان) much celebrated by the Arabian writers(65).

In the village here, many people retire during the winter, into vaults or subterraneous chambers; a practice frequent in other places.

On the sixth, we advanced by a road exhibiting many fine, and, I believe, uncommon flowers; although much snow yet remained, and the morning was extremely cold. Some steep and rugged hills opposed our progress; but to those who had climbed the *Kutel-i-dokhter*, such obstacles were no longer formidable; on every side, and in great numbers we saw trees, mostly of a diminutive kind, and we crossed several times, in its different windings, a river of the clearest water.

(65) See the MS. Dict. *Berhán Kattea*, in (ارجن) *Arjen*, (ارجنه) *Arjenah*, (ارژن) *Arzhen*, (ارژنه) *Arzhenah*, &c. This tree is a species of the *Badám Kúhi* (بادام کوهي) the mountain almond, or *Badám Talkh* (تلخ) the bitter almond, of which the fruit is used medicinally; the wood for walking-sticks or bludgeons; and the bark or *skin* (پوست) is twisted or wrapped about bows.

Three or four miles from our halting-place, was an *Ordu* (اردو), "a horde," or encampment of *Iliáts*, (ایلیات) who according to the change of seasons, remove their humble tents and huts in search of pasture for their herds; they are, probably, descended from those *Zems* (ذم) or *Zims*, which, in the tenth century, are said to have comprised five hundred thousand families within the province of *Pars* alone(66). Although much inferior in numbers, many of the present *Iliát* tribes are very considerable, and since the destruction of *Raï* and the decay of *Ispahán*, *Shiráz*, and all the other great cities throughout the empire, they constitute a principal source of population, and the best nursery of its soldiers. Some of their chiefs are men so powerful that the king attaches them to his court by honourable and lucrative employments, or detains them about his person as hostages for the loyalty and good conduct of their respective clans.

Whether originally Turkománs, Kurds, or Arabians, their history would furnish an interesting subject of

(66) Orient. Geogr. of EBN HAUKAL, p 83. The word *Iliát* (ایلیات) or *Ilát* (ایلات) as I find it sometimes though not often written, is derived from ایل *il* (pronounced like our word *eel*), signifying "a tribe." This was, also, expressed by *Zem* or *Zim*, which EBN HAUKAL (p. 82), explains by the equivalent Arabick قبیلة *Kabilah*. But the derivative *Zimmi* implies an infidel who obtains permission to reside in a Muselmán country on paying an annual poll tax; (See Hamilton's *Hedaya*, Vol. I p. 30—177. &c. Gladwin's Oriental Miscellany, Vol. I. p 95. Calcutta. oct. 1798; Thornton's Turkey, p 143. 4to); and this term would have been no longer applicable to the members of those tribes after they had become, or professed themselves, Mohammedans.

inquiry. We find them, as they were eight hundred years ago, unmixed with the Persians who inhabit cities; retaining their pastoral and erratick habits, and using among themselves a dialect different from the language of the country, which, however, most of them can speak and understand. They seem an independent and hardy race, inclined to hospitality; they have, at least, often refreshed me with delicious milk, as freely offered as it was gladly received, during the excessive heat of a summer's day. Two or three families in little groups, preparing or enjoying their simple meal by the road-side; or proceeding on their journey, the wife carrying one child, two or three others packed in baskets on an ass, which the husband drove before him, have frequently reminded me of our gypsies; especially when the women as sometimes happened) exposed their tawny faces with an air of boldness, nearly bordering on impudence. Notwithstanding this, we must not suppose that it was against the Persian *Iliáts*, a writer of their own country preferred a scandalous charge; accusing the husbands of promoting the infidelity of their wives; for such an imputation would have been unfounded. This charge, was applied to an abject race, still under different denominations, existing, as in the time of that writer, who originally styled himself VRUCH BEC; but having come to Europe with a Persian Ambassador above two hundred years ago, he renounced the absurdities of MOHAM-

MED's religion; and embracing Christianity in Spain, received at his baptism, the name and title of Don Juan de Persia(67). From a short vocabulary which I compiled, and shall give in another chapter of this work, some notion may be formed of the dialect used by a North-Western tribe; which in many circumstances of character and appearance, most strongly resembled our Gypsies; between whom and the wandering families of Asia, many travellers have noticed a conformity(68).

From the *Iliát's* camp we went on towards our own, situate among hills, which we approached by a road between two *Caravanserais*; one a modern structure, on the left; the other, old and in ruins, on the right; near these, we passed a fine stream, and received the honours

(67) "No ay mugeres perdidas en abundancia, como en otros Reynos de infieles; "pero de los Gitanos, ò Egypcios vezinos à estas provincias, passan en tropas y escua- "dras, como de Alarbes, &c. y las mugeres vienen, &c. y los maridos van con ellas à la "casa del Persa," &c. See the rare and curious Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia, &c. p. 17 Valladolid. 1604. 4to.

(68) Mr. Francklin *met near Persepolis*, hundreds of *Curds* or *Turkomans* "who "move about with their families, flocks and herds, in a manner similar to the ancient "Scythians; their complexions were the same as those of the Gypsies in Europe, "sunburnt and tawny." Tour to Persia. p. 81. (Calcutta 1788); a little work which the ingenious author's unassuming style, and its own intrinsick merits have long since recommended to general approbation. It continues to instruct and entertain us in different English editions; and continental readers in German and French translations; still retaining its high place among books of Persian travels, though on the same subject many larger and more splendid volumes have been subsequently published.

of musketry and musick from a *pishwáz* or *istiklál* of about eighty men. This place is called *Kán-e-zenián* (کان زنیان), or, according to the southern mode of pronunciation, *Koon-e-zenioon*; and its name, signifying "a mine of *zenián*," is derived from the abundance of a small grain produced here, resembling fennel-seed in appearance, and not unlike caraway-seed in taste(69). The journey of this day, was, according to the perambulator, by twenty yards only, less than twelve miles; the thermometer, in my tent, at two o'clock, 63; at eight (in the evening) it sunk to 49.

Our last day's march afforded me some opportunities of conversing with a native of this country, whom we overtook on the road; from him I learned, that the shrill cry, (like a very quick repetition of the word *el*, or *lel*, *lel*, *lel*, *lel*,) with which, between *Cazerún* and *Bushehr*, the women, (chiefly of Arab descent) had welcomed us, as expressing joy (See p. 254); was the same which they used during the mournful ceremony of a funeral(70). From this Persian, who seemed well

(69) The *zenián* (زنیان) is sometimes sprinkled on the dough in making bread; it is also called *Nán Khwáh* (نان خواه) or *Nánkhah* (نانخه) and *Jowáni* (جواني); also in the Arabick language *Táleb al Khebz* (طالب الخبز) and in Syriack *Nanya* (نینیا), according to the MS. *Berhán Kattea*.

(70) Thus the Moorish women "to shew mirth and gladness" says Dr. Shaw, "welcome the arrival of each guest by squalling out for several times together, *loo, loo, loo*.

acquainted with many popular superstitions, I also learned, that the majority of his countrymen fancied (although he had not adopted their opinion) that it was auspicious for one who undertook a journey, to leave his house, by passing through the door with his back foremost, rather than his face. He was more inclined to believe, for he had heard wonderful anecdotes sufficient to justify his confidence, in omens derived from the import of such passages as first offer themselves to those who open at random the leaves of certain books; HA'FIZ'S *Diván* (ديوان حافظ) or Collection of Poems, being chiefly used on this occasion of the omen, (or *fál* فال) as Virgil's works were formerly in Europe. Dreams he regarded as sure prognosticks of good or evil(70). But

"At their funerals, also, and upon other melancholy occasions they repeat the same "noise; only they make it more deep and hollow, and end each period with some "ventriloquous sighs." (See Trav. in Barbary, and the Levant," p. 242. (Sec. edit. 1757). I shall not here offer any observations on this learned author's notes respecting the Hebrew יָלַל; the Greek ὀλολύζω, &c. which would lead to a long digression. It appears that the Abyssinian women are accustomed to welcome strangers with "the "acclamation *keli, li, li, li, li,*" (Salt's Trav. in Abyss. p. 242). The Egyptian women cry out "*luy, luy, luy*;" See "Memoirs on Europ. and Asiat. Turkey," p. 394, (4to 1817). The learned editor, Mr. Walpole, ingeniously remarks (after Scheltens in Job. c. x. v. 15) that the sounds generally used to express affliction, were sometimes applied to joy.

(70) Of Oneirocritical works in Arabick and Persian, the number is astonishing. "Les "Musulmans sont fort superstitieux sur le sujet des songes," as D'Herbelôt remarks; Biblioth. Orient. in *Tabir* or L'Explication des Songes). My collection comprises a few MSS. on the same subject, and I might have increased (but not perhaps enriched) it by at least an hundred more. A passage in the Catal. Libr. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Galliae (Vol. I. p. 221), alludes to *seven thousand five hundred* Arabick treatises on dreams.

he entertained many doubts respecting the efficacy of divination, as practised among some *Turkomán* tribes, by means of what he called the *shoonah i goospand*, a sheep's blade bone, "half burnt"(72). From this man, and afterwards from other Persians, I endeavoured to obtain information, respecting the ideas generally formed of

(72) *Shánah i gúsfand* (شانهٔ گوسفند). MENHA'JE SERA'JE, an entertaining writer, who closes his work entitled *Tebkat Nasri* in the year of our era 1260, relates that the mighty *Chengiz Khán* (into whose service an accident had forced him), "highly "esteemed the science of divination by means of sheep's bones, always placing the "*Shánah* or blade-bone on the fire and burning it; so deriving his knowledge of future "events in a manner different from that of the *Shánah Shenassán*, or blade-bone "Diviners of Persia."

علم نثار گوسفندي نيكو داشتي پيوسته شانه بر آتش نهادي وحمي سوختي و علامات شانه برين دريافتي لخلاف شانه شناسان بلاد عجم

And he adds that this barbarian Monarch was once deterred for some time from a projected invasion of *Hindustán*, by unfavourable signs appearing on the *Shánah* which he had consulted. On such a trifling circumstance depended the fate of millions! See in the MS. *Tebkát Násri*, that chapter which describes CHENGIZ KHA'N's return to *Turkestán*, "and his going to hell," (ورفتن او بدوزخ) a mode of expression which our author generally uses when mentioning the death of an enemy or an infidel. "Guillaume de Rubruquis," who travelled in the year 1253, has described the manner of consulting these "os d'epaule de mouton," according to the French edition of his Travels, (chap. xxxvii), published by Bergeron, from Hackluyt's English translation of the original barbarous Latin. See Bergeron's Collection of "Voyages faits principalement en Asie." (A la Haye, 1735, 4to). We read in "Pur-"chas his Pilgrimage," p. 471, (3d. edit. 1617), that "Master Jenkinson travelled with "certain Tartars who divined by the blade-bones of sheepe," &c. (See also p. 480). Mr. Elphinstone, in his excellent account of *Caubul*, (p. 223), notices a custom of divining among the *Afghans*, by "examining the marks in the blade bone of a sheep, "held up to the light." The Tartar tribes of Caucasus, says Klaproth, (Travels, &c. English edition, p. 282,) prophesy from the cracks appearing on a sheep's blade-bone which has been thrown into the fire. And this mode of divination has been retained by all nations of Scythian origin as Dr. Reineggs observes, in his "Description of "Caucasus." Vol. 1. p. 297, (Eng. Edition).

Peries (پری) or "fairies;" imaginary creatures, beautiful and benevolent; also, of the *Ghúles* (غول) or "Demons of the Desert;" a hideous race, that sometimes haunt cemeteries, and particularly infest a dreary tract in the North of Persia, not far from *Tehrán*; bearing the portentous name of *Melek al mowt dereh*, (ملک الموت دره) or "Valley of the Angel of Death." Concerning the *Jins* (جن) or "Genii," I found that they are not restricted to any particular region; but the gigantick monsters, called *Dives*, or *Dibes*, (دیب دیو) reside peculiarly among the rocks and forests of *Mázenderán* or Hyrcania.

Those preternatural beings, and others which shall be hereafter mentioned, were the subjects of our conversation, when we passed by an old and withered tree half covered with rags, fastened as votive offerings, to the branches; it being one of those entitled by the Persians, *dirakht i fázel*, (درخت فاضل), "excellent or beneficial trees," and held in superstitious veneration. I had already seen four or five near *A'bdúi*, and two or three previously in other places, since our departure from *Bushehr*; and now ascertained that their supposed sanctity did not depend either on the species, the size, or beauty of the trees; nor on their age, although most were old; but often proceeded from accidental, and even trivial circumstances; yet since the reverence paid to trees, seemed nearly as ancient, and widely diffused as any

other form of superstition; I have been frequently induced to make it the object of personal inquiry among Asiaticks, and of literary research at home. The result now before me, would constitute a volume of no inconsiderable size. For the subject may be traced from this present day to the earliest ages of which written records furnish an account; through every country of the old, and, probably, of the new world. The sacred Hebrew scriptures, allude to it in many places; we find it mentioned by Greek and Roman authors; various anecdotes respecting it occur in Eastern manuscripts; and it has been noticed by several European travellers and antiquaries. But, referring my reader to the Appendix, I shall here only observe, that a Persian King, almost five hundred years before the Christian era, (although he may have worshipped God, under the symbol of fire, or of the sun) appears, on classical, and I think, very credible authority, as propitiating some divinity, or supernatural power supposed to reside in a certain tree, by offerings suspended from its branches. The same practice, however inconsistent with their boasted religion, continues among the *Muselmáns* of Persia.

On the seventh, we left *Kán-e-zenián* at an early hour; the road was rough and hilly; and in some places, although many miles from any town or village, covered with the rude tomb-stones of *Iliáts*. We met a

party of those wanderers, apparently three hundred men and women, with a multitude of children; several mares and foals, cows, considerable flocks of sheep and goats, and some very large and handsome dogs. The principal men on horseback, were well dressed, and carried spears of considerable length.

We entered, soon after, the plain of SHIRA'Z; where the Ambassador was received with much ceremony and compliment by a very numerous *istikbál*, divided into three or four troops of horsemen, who accompanied us to the garden called *Shah cherágh* (شاه چراغ), near which our tents were pitched. The march of this day was twenty-two miles; about two o'clock some rain fell; a rare occurrence here; the thermometer at half past three, stood at 65 in my tent, whence *Shiráz* was distinctly seen; but although the green-tiled domes of several buildings, made a pleasing appearance; that city by no means equalled either in beauty or in magnitude, the idea of it which I had formed, from books and prints; some mud-walled villages and gardens were also within view. Soon after our arrival here, a man from *Shiráz* introduced himself to my acquaintance as a *nakásh* (نقاش) or "painter;" often employed there in illuminating Manuscripts; and occasionally as a *delál* (دلال) or one who carries about to strangers various specimens of goods from the shops. Through means of this man (whom

a present of three or four English black-lead pencils enlisted in my service) I obtained on reasonable terms, in the course of a few weeks, above an hundred ancient gems and medals; besides some books, of which, probably, there are not any second copies in Europe. These books, shall be noticed in the Second Volume. Many of the gems and medals were of little value; some are delineated in the present Volume; (See Plate XXI, which comprises a few other *Antiques*, as the Appendix will explain).

8. The march of this morning was short; between four and five miles; and terminated a journey, (from our camp near *Bushehr*) of one hundred and sixty-seven miles. There may be, however, in some places, a path, shorter, (or longer) by an inconsiderable degree, than that which we took; and in HAMDALLAH's account of the road and stages between *Shiráz* and *Cázerún*, some names occur which I do not recollect to have heard(75).

(75) In the MS. *Nozhat al Colub*, (Geogr. Sect. ch. of Roads and Stages) he informs us that, "from *Shiráz* to the wall or parapet of *Hadji Kuám*, is a distance of 6 farsangs; "from that to the *Desht-i-Arzhen*, 8 f. from that to the *Rebát* or *Caravanserai* on "the summit of the *Gariveh-e-Málén*, 6 f. from that to the city of *Cazerún*, 3 f. On "this road is the *Gariveh-e-Húshang*; and both these *Gariveh*, (very lofty hills, "flat on the upper part) are difficult of ascent. Total between *Shiráz* and *Cazerún*, "twenty-two farsangs."

من شیراز الي الکازرون—از شیراز تا حایط حاجي قوام پنج فرسنک از و تا دشت ارژن هشت فرسنک ازان تا رباط سرکریوه مالان شش فرسنک از ان تا شهر کازرون سه فرسنک کریوه هوشنک درین راه است و هردو کریوهاي سخت است جمله باشد از شیراز تا کازرون بیست و دو فرسنک

It is possible that a lapse of almost five hundred years, since his time, has rendered them obsolete. The stages of our journey from *Bushehr*, are expressed in a Map annexed to the Second Volume; and illustrating the account of an excursion which I made, when detached from the Embassy, to *Darábgerd* and *Fasa* or *Pasa*, (the supposed Cyropolis and Pasagarda); and my return to *Shiráz* by the Salt Lake of *Bakhtegán*, and the ruins of Persepolis. This map, also, being constructed on a scale larger than that of the General Map, shows the course of our navigation in the Persian Gúlf.

On our road, from *Shúh Cherágh*, we met the acting Minister, MIRZA ZEIN-AL-ABEDEIN, before-mentioned; several chief officers of the Prince's court; and the most respectable inhabitants of *Shiráz*, who came to congratulate the Ambassador on his arrival. As we advanced, the crowd increased; and near the city, many thousand people had assembled to gaze on the cavalcade of Europeans. At no great distance from the walls, we rode over a level piece of ground, on which, as report mentioned, the young noblemen, and sons of opulent merchants, had been accustomed, in times not very long past, to exercise and amuse themselves with the equestrian game, called *chúgán* (چوگان), now but seldom practised. I have devoted, however, to this subject, an article in the Appendix; as we perceive the *chúgán* adopted by various nations;

and among others the Greeks, under their Emperor Manuel Comnenus; retaining its original name in the barbarous word *chukan-isterion*; Τζυκανιστηριον.

We found our tents close to the *Jehán nemá* (جهان نما), one of the Prince's finest gardens, into which, by his order, the English gentlemen were, at all times, to be admitted. In a handsome room, very richly gilt and painted, over the gateway of this garden, we partook of a collation; various trays covered with fruit and sweetmeats, being laid on the floor; after this, each retired to his tent. As I entered mine, these beautiful lines from an ode of HA'FIZ offered themselves to my recollection;

بده ساقي مي باقي كه در جنت نخواهي يافت
كنار اب رکناباد و گلگشت مصلا را

Sir William Jones has thus admirably paraphrased them:

"Boy! let yon liquid ruby flow,
"And bid thy pensive heart be glad,
"Whate'er the frowning zealots say;
"Tell them their Eden cannot show
"A stream so clear as Rocnabad,
"A bower so sweet as Mosellây."

Our camp was about a mile from the walls of *Shiráz*; and an enthusiastick lover of Persian poetry, might have envied us our situation; for the *Tomb of Saadi* was not farther than a quarter of an hour's walk; the stream of *Ráknabád* murmured near us; and within three or four hundred yards, were the *Mosellá* and the *Tomb of Háfiz*.

On this classick ground, we remained encamped almost a week; in the course of which occurred two circumstances, to be described in my next chapter; Sir Gore Ouseley's introduction, at the Court of Prince HUSEIN ALI MI'RZA; and Lady Ouseley's interview, with a Persian Queen, the Prince's mother resident here; one of the King's first wives, living (very reluctantly, though with a beloved son) in a state of honourable separation from her husband, who had long since filled her place with a succession of younger beauties.

APPENDIX

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

No I.

Barbarick Gulf.

IN page 28, a passage has been translated from HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI's account of the Barbarick Gulf or Sea of *Hhamyar*. That Geographer's words in the original Persian are

بحر حمیر—لجه است از دریاي هند انرا بحر بربري نیز میخوانند طرف شرقیش
بحر هندست و غربي دیار حمیر و شمال ولایت بربر و جنوبي جبال قمر این لجه از
ان دو لجه دیگر کوچکترست طولش بسمالست صد و شصت فرسنگ گفته اند و عرضش
از شرق و غربست سي و سه فرسنگ گفته اند و در ین بحر جزایر بسیارست

MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. (Chap. of Seas). It was my intention to notice here some geographical difficulties that present themselves in this passage, but I hope to remove or explain them in the course of this work,

by means of an extraordinary map illustrating an ancient Arabick manuscript, which will probably be placed in my hands before the expiration of many months.

No. II.

Matlaa as' Saadein.

TO the Persian manuscript work entitled *Matlaa as' Saadein*, a reference has been made in p. 53, and again in p. 67. The copy in my collection, is of a large quarto form, containing six hundred and eight pages of the original text, handsomely written; and dated by the Mohammedan transcriber, in 992, corresponding to our year 1584. Some recent hand has prefixed a table of contents, occupying twenty-two pages. Monsieur Langlès's very entertaining extracts from this valuable work, have been already noticed, (p. 67). It appears from his "Collection Portative de Voyages," Tome II. (Pref. p. xii), that the copy which he used, is styled "*Mathla'a a Sa'adéin ou Djema'a Bahharein.*" (The rising of the two fortunate planets, Jupiter and Venus, and the Junction of the two Seas). This perfectly agrees as to title with my manuscript, except in the word *djemaa*; which without any alteration of sense, has the letter *m* prefixed in mine; the whole being مطلع السعدين ومجمع البحرين The author, in M. Langlès's MS. is called "*Ben djelál*

"*eddyn Isshák A'bd-oûlrizûq al Samarqandi.*" In mine he names himself more simply, "ABD ARRIZA'K BEN ISHAK AL SAMARCANDI."—عبد الرزاق بن اسحق السمرقندي D'Herbelôt informs us that "Abdalrazzak Ben Gelaleddin Ishak Al Samarcandi" died in the year 880, (or of our Era 1475); and it would seem that M. Galland, a celebrated French orientalist, had undertaken to translate the *Matlaa as Saadein*. ("See Bibliot. Orient." art. *Schahrokh*). A more particular account of ABDAR'REZAK is given by the Persian Historian KHONDEMI'R, whose words may be found with an English version in the "Asiatick Miscellany," Vol. I. p. 72, (Calcutta 1785). According to this, he died in the year 887, (1472). His *Matlaa as' Saadein* contains the history of SHA'HRUKH (شاه رخ) who began to reign in 1404; and of his descendants to the year 1470; but the part to which this article more immediately refers, is the account of his Embassy from that great Sovereign above mentioned, to the king of *Bijnagar*, (or *Visiapore* in India), during the years 1442, 1443 and 1444. This is the portion translated by M. Langlès in the "Collection Portative," &c. Tome II. where (p. xxix. and p. xxxv), we find *Zyrbad* noticed as a place from which merchandise was sent to *Hormúz* and to *Kalikut*. My copy in one passage has *Rízbád* (ريزباد), but in the other, like M. Langlès's, more correctly, *Zirbád* (زيرباد); and I learn from the MS. *Berhán Kattea*, that "*Malákh* was one of the "islands of *Zirbád*; and now generally called *Malákhah*."

ملنج—نام جزیره است از جزایر زیرباد و اکنون بملاحظهٔ اشتهار دارد

Zirbád, in Persian, would signify "under the wind." M. Langlès, p. xliv), mentions the port of *Bendánch*; and in a note (37), on this name, justly suspects an error of the transcriber. My MS. reads بندر بندرانه *Bander Banderánah*, or the port of *Banderáneh*, which in Heylin's "Cosmographie," (p. 887, or rather 891, Lond. 1660), an old compilation of considerable merit, is described as "*Pandarane* on the skirts of *Cononor*," (on the Malabar coast). M. Langlès's correction of *Yelbár* (یلبار), as written in his copy, (See note 45), is perfectly justified by my MS. which has most unequivocally ملیبار *Malibár*, our *Malabar*. He also rightly corrects *hhouz hindy*, (See his note 52), and reads *Júz hindi* جوز هندي, as it appears in my copy; *Jawz Hindi* is generally used to express the cocoa-nut; often called by the Persians *Nárgil* (نارکیل), and by the Arabians commonly *Nárjil* نارجیل(1). The *Bisnugor* of M. Langlès, (p. xlviii), is certainly, as he remarks, (note 36), a corruption. My MS. reads always بجیانکر *Bijánágar*. In p. xliii, M. Langlès mentions the cape opposite Serandib or Ceylon. "Cap qui regarde l'isle de "Serandib, que l'on appelle autrement Ceylan;" my MS. more particularly assigns to that territory the name of

(1) See the MS. Dict. *Berhán Kattea*, in voce (جوز هندي); a cocoa nut is *nar-yel*, in the *Hindevy* or modern language of *Hindustán*, according to Gladwin's *Ulfaz Udwiyeh* or Materia Medica. No. 722. Calcutta 1793.

Caïel, or *Kael*; تا قایل که در برابر مراندیب This is the place which Heylin mentions (Cosmogr. p. 898); "*Cael* in the kingdom of *Bisnagar* or *Narsinga*;" he also gives it in his map of Asia. The reader will not be displeased to see subjoined, respecting *Cael*, one of those notes with which Mr. Marsden has illustrated his very excellent translation of Marco Polo(*):

No. III.

Arabian Pirates.

HAVING alluded (in page 182), to the piratical settlement at *Rás al khemah*, situate on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, nearly in latitude 25, 49 North, and longitude, 55, 30 East; and again (in page 237), to its destruction by the English; I shall here state that this was accomplished in November, 1809, under the able conduct of Captain Wainwright of the Royal Navy, and

(*) "In the *Tamul* language the word *Kael* or *Keil*, signifies a temple; and forms "the terminating syllable in the names of several places in the Southern part of the "peninsula. It was also pre-eminently, the name of a considerable town and port of "trade in what we now term the *Tinnevelly* country; not many miles from *Tutecorin*. "Its situation may be seen in the map, prefixed to Valentyn's Beschryving von "Choromandel, (Vol. V.); where its ancient consequence is denoted by the addition "of the word *patnam*: but having disappeared in modern maps we may conclude "that *Kael patnam* no longer exists even as a town. Yet in Dalrymple's collection "of plans of ports, we find one (from Van Keulen) which lays down the situation "not only of *Ceyl-patnam*, but also of *Porto Ceyl*, and of a place termed *Old Ceyl*."

See Marsden's "Travels of Marco Polo," p. 675, note 1360.

Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of the 65th Regiment. The *Juasme* pirates, a tribe of the *Wahabis*, (See p. 153, 166, 181), having lately captured some of the East-India company's ships, and murdered the greater number of their crews; two king's frigates, five armed cruisers, and a bomb-vessel, with thirteen hundred troops, were sent from Bombay, and completely effected the object of this expedition, by destroying *Rás al Kheimah* the *Júasme* capital, above fifty large *dows*, (from two hundred to three hundred and fifty tons each), and many smaller vessels; fifteen only of the British being killed or wounded, while the pirates suffered a loss of at least three hundred men. The particulars of this expedition are very well detailed in that entertaining and useful publication, the "Asiatic "Journal," (Vol. II. p. 341); from which, and from accounts communicated to me by persons who were present, it appears that the *Júasmes* defended their capital with the utmost intrepidity and obstinacy. "In one "instance a large building was defended even after the "British had scaled the roof, and had dropped several "hand-grenades into it, through holes worked with their "bayonets; and at last its defenders rushed out, and "made a gallant though vain attempt to cut their way "through the troops that surrounded it." (Asiat. Journ. Vol. II. p. 344). In the town were accumulated vast stores of the most valuable goods; these might have been brought away, but the British commanders caused

all the magazines to be burnt, thereby proving that they had merely come for the purpose of chastising a murderous and piratical race. Gold and jewels, however, to a considerable amount, rewarded the exertions of our brave soldiers; one of whom, it is said, obtained treasure nearly equivalent to three thousand pounds. The destruction of *Rás al Kheimah* was not effected without more difficulties than those commonly incidental to the capture, by assault, of a strongly fortified place; for it was found that the frigates could not approach within three miles of the town, and scarcely could the smaller vessels come within point blank shot, so shallow was the water; the only bomb-vessel had foundered at sea; and so numerous were the pirates batteries and entrenchments, that the *Imám* of *Mascat*, whose co-operation our commander had solicited, thought it presumptuous to attempt with thirteen hundred men, what ten thousand, in his opinion, could scarcely hope to accomplish.

No. IV.

Persian Map.

MY intended description, which may, perhaps, be entitled a "Periplus," of the Persian Gulf, is noticed in page 163, and again in p. 165, and p. 231, where occurs a reference to the Plates VIII and IX. I have

accurately copied in one, and endeavoured to explain in the other, an original map illustrating the *Súr al beldán*, (or more properly the *Mesálik ú Memálek*), a most valuable manuscript, which, as appears from the preface to this volume, is the Geographical Work, composed by EBN HAUKAL in the tenth century, and soon after translated into Persian. This map was drawn in the year of our era 1271, or of the *Hejrah* 670; and by offering a brief explanation of it here, I shall but slightly encroach on the plan of my future "Periplus."

We find that a greater extent is comprehended in this map than might be expected from its title; *Súret Bahr Fárs* (صورت بحر فارس), "a delineation of the sea of *Fars*;" or "Persian Gulf;" for to those who suppose themselves placed on the South, (as most usual when we study our European maps) it exhibits Westward, the Red Sea; and North-Eastward the sea of *Sín* or of China(*). I have

(*) That the old Persian MS. which bears in a very modern hand the title of *Súr al Beldán*, and the *Mesálek ú Memálek*, are translations of EBN HAUKAL'S Arabick work, I have noticed in the preface. Of the verbal variations between one and the other, without any difference of sense, a thousand instances might be given; thus in the MS. *Mesálek ú Memálek*, we read

و درازي و پهناي دریاي پارس عظیم تر است و در اخر دریاي پارس زمین چین است تا دریاي قلزم

which passage in my translation of EBN HAUKAL'S "Oriental Geography," (p. 6), is rendered as follows. "The Persian Sea is more extensive (than the Mediterra-"nean) in length and breadth; reaching to the land of *Cheen* and to the Sea "of *Kolzum*." In the MS. *Súr al Beldán*, we read the following words;

already remarked, (See p. 164), much confusion on the subject of those seas, not only in Eastern manuscripts, but among ancient classical writers.

It might be imagined that the green colour used in this map, should peculiarly designate the Persian Gulf, which some Arabian Geographers entitle the "Green Sea," or "Bay;" thus EDRISI and EBN AL VARDI, quoted in p. 164. But EBN HAUKAL, whose work the map illustrates, has not distinguished it by such an epithet; and in other maps of the same manuscript we find the Mediterranean and the Caspian Sea equally painted green. At each angle of the page is written obliquely in Arabick, the term indicating one of the cardinal points: *Al Mashrek* (المشرق) The East; *Al Maghreb* (المغرب), "The West;" *Al-Shamál* (الشمال) the "North;" and *Al Jenúb* (الجنوب) "the South."

Of the places marked in this map, I shall commence the explanation Eastward, so that it may coincide with the course of our navigation, from Ceylon up the Persian Gulf. We first perceive the great or main ocean, called

و دریای پارس بزرگ تر و پهن تر از دریای روم است جهت آنک حدود دریای پارس از حد چین تا فارم است *

"And the Sea of *Pars* is greater and wider than the Sea of *Rúm*, (the Mediterra-"nean), because the limits of the sea of *Pars* are from the confines of *Chín* "to *Kolzum*." Such a variation of words must naturally occur when different persons translate the same work.

Al Bahr al Mcheyt (البحر المحيط), because it surrounds or embraces the whole world. The next name, *Bahr al Sín*, (بحر الصين) although written on the Coast, signifies "the "Sea of *China*." Near this is حمدان which, as the vowel accents are not expressed, may be either *Hhumdán* or *Hhamdán*. In the English translation of EBN HAUKAL's work, (Orient. Geogr. p. 9), I wrote *Humdán*, thinking it probably that *Cumdan*, which in the ninth century appears to have been the Royal Capital of China, as we learn from those Mohammedan travellers whose narratives have been translated by the ingenious Renaudôt(4). EBN HAUKAL, also, represents *Humdán* as the metropolis of China, (Orient. Geogr. p. 9). But the maritime situation of حمدان in our map, may perhaps indicate *Canton*, which the Arabs might express by *Hhamdán*, or *Khamdán*(5). Leaving the coast and sea

(4) "Il se trouve une plus grande difficulté à eclaircir nos auteurs sur la ville de "*Cumdan*," &c. See "Anciennes Relations," &c. Remarques, p. 191. Renaudot concludes that it must be *Nangking*, (p. 182). But whatever doubts exist on this subject will probably be removed in the edition of those "Relations," which we have reason to expect from that celebrated orientalist, Monsieur Langlès.

(5) The diacritical points are so frequently omitted, not only in the copies of EBN HAUKAL's work, but in almost, every Arabick or Persian manuscript that, could a satisfactory solution of doubts or difficulties be obtained by such a process, we should not hesitate to supply one dot; thus some Geographical treatises exhibit the word *Bahr* (بحر) "Sea," written without any point under *b*, probably in fifteen out of twenty instances. By the addition of a dot to the first letter, *Hhumdán* or *Hhamdán* (حمدان) is rendered (خمدان) *Khumdán* or *Khamdán*, and seems to express more accurately the two Chinese names.

of China, we advance to *Serendíb* (سرنديب) or Ceylon, in this map scarcely separated from the continent by a slight red line; whilst the remarkable object which I have described by the name of "Adam's Peak" (See p. 35, 60) is here entitled *Jebel Serendíb* (جبل سرنديب) "the mountain of *Serendíb*" or of Ceylon; and by an extraordinary graphical elevation, appears towering over the island, and as if distinct from its proper base; to which however duly approaches the *Bahr al Hind* (بحرالهند) or "Indian Ocean." (See page 22, 23 et seq.) Inland, Northward of Ceylon, we find the *Belád Hind* (بلاد هند) or Region of India; and Westward of Ceylon the *Beláď al Sind* (بلاد السند) or Region of Sind." Here flows the *Nahr Mihrán* (نهرمهران) or "River *Mihrán*," painted of a blue colour in which, were not other rivers so expressed, we might suppose an allusion to the name of *Níl áb* (نيلاب) or "Blue Water," given by some Eastern writers to this stream, best known as the celebrated *Sind* or Indus. I must here observe that its source is traced in the MS. *Súr al Beldán* to "the back of a certain "mountain from which proceed some of the streams or "fountains of the River *Jaihún* (or Oxus)"

ان رود از پشت کوهي بيرون مي ايد که بعضي از جويها جيحون از انجا منفجر و مستنبط مي شود

The printed work of Ebn Haukal (Orient. Geog. p. 153) derives the *Mihrán* at once from the *Jaihún*. I have already (p. 149) quoted some ancient and modern

authors who notice the resemblance between the *Deltas* of *Sind* and of Egypt. Thus EBN HAUKAL compares the River *Mihrán* to the Nile, in his printed work (p. 155), from its rise and fall, and from its *nahang* (نهنگ), crocodiles or alligators. In the MS. *Súr al beldán* he amplifies his comparison, and mentions that this River is like the Nile in magnitude and impetuosity; subsiding at certain seasons, and promoting abundance of crops which are cultivated as in Egypt.

و در آن زمین زراعت می کنند چنانک در زمین مصر

Immediately beyond this River appears the Sea-port of *Deibel* or *Díbel*, not *Debil* as written by Greaves in his translation of ULUGH BEIG's Geographical Table; for the true spelling is ascertained by SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI, who, in his MS. *Takwim al beldán*, informs us that (دیبل) *Díbel* is a town of *Sind*, and, after the Arabian manner, called *Díul* (معرب دیبل). The three copies of EBN HAUKAL's work which I have consulted agree in placing this Sea-port on the Eastern side of the River *Mihran*.

و دیبل از شرقی مهران است بر کناره دریا

Yet the Map represents it as on the West; perhaps it is Eastward in respect to some branches.(*) We must now advance to the Persian Gulf, and notice *Hormuz*, of which an account has been already given

(*) "If this (*Diul*) were on the *eastern* side of the river, and insulated by a stream "derived from the main channel, it would correspond sufficiently with the Killoeta "of Arrian." Vincent's Nearchus, p. 191. (Sec. edit).

in p. 154, 155 et seq. Next we find *Hysn ebn Omárah* (حصن ابن عمارة) or "*the Castle of the Sons of Omarah;*" described by EBN HAUKAL as exceedingly strong, and he adds, that to the Lords of this Castle there is a supposed allusion in the Koran, (See Orient. Geog. p. 12). It has been reckoned as belonging to *Láristán* which some include in the tract called *Shebángárah*, but these denominations are lost in the more general and comprehensive title of *Párs*, a Province which *Hysn ebn Omarah* is said to terminate Eastward.

The next place, according to our Map, is *Siráf*, sufficiently noticed in the fourth Chapter of this Work. We then find *Najíram* نجيرم (or as sometimes written *Bajíram*(7). The situation of this place is satisfactorily ascertained by EBN HAUKAL, and, after him, by EDRISI; yet ABULFEDA seems to have entertained some doubts respecting it.(8) *Jenábah* جنابة next presents itself; then *Síníz* (سينيز) which some, says ABULFEDA, place in the province of *Fárs*, others in *Ahwáz*; (*Khúz-*

(7) This difference arises merely from the position of a diacritical point over or under the first letter; ن (N) or ب (B). The name is without any point in the map; and in my MS. from which I translated EBN HAUKAL's work, a B (ب) was expressed in one place; but an Arabick note to ABU'LFEDA's account of Persia, printed at Vienna, with a Greek translation in 1807, (page 264), determines the orthography and writes نجيرم *Najiram*.

(8) See his Arabick Geography, with a Greek translation, published by Demetrius Alexandrides, at Vienna, as above quoted.

istán or Susiana) (See his Geography, before quoted, p. 250). But *Mahrúyán* (مهرویان) which our Map next exhibits, is generally supposed to limit Susiana and *Fars* on the coast. Those three sea-ports, *Jenábah*, *Síníz* and *Mahrúyán*, are often mentioned in the printed work of Ebn Haukal, which has *Sinir* for *Siniz*. A Gentleman who had visited *Jenábah*, or as he wrote the name, *Genowa*, informed me that near it were considerable remains of an ancient edifice whence large stones have been occasionally transported by sea to various places. They may have contributed to the structure of that *Ták* (طاق) which gave, perhaps, its name to Ταοκη, where says Arrian, was a Palace of the Persian Kings. (Hist. Indic. c. 39). I have already observed (See p. 193), that *Ták* (the *á* pronounced as in our words *walk*, *talk*, &c.) is sometimes used to express a whole edifice, though properly signifying a vault or arch. Ptolemy mentions two places called *Taoke* (Geogr. Lib. vii cap. 4). *Jenábah*, or *Genowa*, appears as *Gunava* in the Map prefixed to Captain Macdonald Kinneir's "Journey through Asia Minor," &c.

Our progress on the land is now impeded by a great River flowing into the Persian Gulf, which we find properly described here as *Bahr Fárs*, (بحر فارس) "the Sea of *Fárs*" or Persia; a title sometimes more extensively applied, as I have already shown. In this Gulf, three islands are seen (painted red). Of the *Jezirah Láfet*

(جزيرة لفت) See Chap. IV. p. 163. This name is erróneously printed لمث *(Lámeth)* in the Arabick text of Edrisi's Geography (Clim. III. Sect. 6). *Láfet* is the same with *Jezírah Diráz*, or *Tauílah*, "the Long Island," (also called *Kishm)*; it should have been placed on the Eastward. *Jezírah Khárek* (جزيرة خارك) or *Khúreg*, not *Hharek* (حارك) as in Edrisi's printed work, has been incidentally mentioned (p. 161). It is a small island but well watered; not very far from Bushehr; and once belonged to the Dutch.

The third *Jezírah* or island is *Awál* (جزيرة اوال) which the reader will find noticed in p. 231; according to Niebuhr, it is the largest of those islands collectively named *Bahhrein* (بحرين); (Descript. de l' Arabie. p. 284, Copenh. 1773).

Returning to the River (painted blue) which stopped our course beyond *Mahrúyán*, I shall observe that it is called *Al Dijlah* (الدجلة) or "the Tigris;" although it represents the united streams of this River and of the *Forát* (فرات) or Euphrates.

Having crossed the *Dijlah* we enter that region which the Eastern Geographers denominate generally *Jezíret al Arab*, (جزيرة العرب) the Arabian Peninsula or *Chersonese*; for these are expressed by the Arabick word *Jezírah* or *Jezíret*, more properly signifying an island. Here we first

perceive *Abadán* (عبادان) which in the Map is written *Anádán*; the letter ; N, through a mistake having been put for ; B. It is described by EBN HAUKAL and EDRISI as a small Castle on the Sea-shore.

Next we proceed to *Hajr* (هجر) noticed by EDRISI (Clim. III. Sect 6), and, as Niebuhr informs us, the name of a district and city, also called *Lahhsa* or *al Hasa* (الحسا), situate on the Persian Gulf, and near the Islands of *Bahrein*; the whole province of *Hajr* has been denominated *Bahrein*. Our Map then presents *Sokhár* (صخار) which Niebuhr calls Sohar (صحار); "it is" adds he, "one "of the most celebrated and ancient cities in *Oman*, "but now of little importance." (Descript.de l' Arabie, p. 256. Copenh. 1773). We next advance to *Aden* or *Eden* (عدن) a celebrated emporium of *Yemen* (يمن) or Arabia Felix. It appears under the name of Αδανα in the Geographical work of Stephanus Byzantius; and is supposed, not without reason, to be the *Eden* (עדן) which Ezekiel enumerates among the great commercial places(*).

We must now suppose ourselves to have passed the Straits of *Bábelmandeb* (See p. 23), and entered the Red Sea; here our Map first offers a name written without any diacritical points; supplying these, however, from

(*) "The merchants of Sheba, and Raamah," &c. "Haran and Canneh and Eden, "the merchants of Sheba, Ashur and Chilmad," &c. Ezek. ch. XXVII. 22, 23.

works that describe the coast of Arabia, we shall find *Zabíd* (زبيد) once an opulent city, the capital of a district called *Tehámа*, according to Niebuhr; and, as he suggests, the *Sabatha* of Pliny.

The next name appears to be *Aain* (عين), or *Ghain* (غين), for the points are omitted; I should suppose it, however, that *Airah* (عيره) or *Ghairah* (غيره), described as a small Castle or Fortress, (قلعه كوچك), in an account of Arabia, which renders the MS. *Súr al beldán*, more valuable than the other copies of EBN HAUKAL's work that I have consulted; he celebrates the place as remarkable for its excellent dates.

We now find *Al-Mahjam* (المهجم), a city once of considerable note, but now almost wholly ruined, as Niebuhr informs us; and beyond it, *Al Serín* (السرين), the last letter being erroneously written in the map, like an ر, R. This is the maritime City, (علي الساحل مدينه), and strongly fortified castle, (حصن حصين) of *Serín* (السرين), noticed by EDRISI, (Clim. II. Sect. 5). Then we arrive at *Jiddah* (جده), a sea-port through which much Indian wealth is communicated to Mecca, distant only thirty hours, according to Bruce, (Vol. I); and next we discover, (a point being supplied in the map) *Al Jăr* (الجار); which, says EDRISI, (Clim. II. Sect. 5), is the port for *Medinah*. There can scarcely be a doubt that the Μέδιανα of Ptolemy, (Lib. VI.

cap. 7), is represented by the *Madian* (مديين) of our map. Here, according to EDRISI and ABULFEDA, was the well, from which Moses watered the flock of Reuel, or Jethro, whom the Arabs call (شعيب) SHOAIB(19). This has been long in ruins. At length we discover, under the name of *Ailah* (ايله), that place which the Hebrew scriptures entitle *Ailath*, *Elath* or *Eloth*, (אילת or אילות Deut. II. 8. II. Chron. VIII. 17. Near this was *Eziongaber*, (עציון גבר), where Solomon constructed the ships that brought gold from Ophir; (I. Kings, ch. IX. v. 26). I have already alluded to *Elath* and *Eziongaber*, in p. 52, both situate on that bay of the Red Sea, called the "Elanitick Gulf," from Ελανα, as Ptolemy, (Lib. V. cap. 17), and Αδανον or Αδα, as Stephanus Byzantius writes the name of *Elath* or *Ailah*. The general map, prefixed to this Volume, will sufficiently indicate its situation. We have now almost reached the extremity of that Sea, which is often denominated *Arabian*, and more frequently "Red." Our map entitles it *Bahr al Kolzum* (بحر القلزم), or the "Sea of *Kolzum*," from an ancient city, or military station, the *Klusma*, or *Clysma* of Ptolemy, Κλυσμα φρουριον, (Lib. IV. cap. 5). But our Persian map, should have placed it on the Western or Egyptian side of the Gulf; it appears at the very point, in other maps of the same manuscript. Respecting its

(19) See Exodus. ch. II. v. 16. "Now the priest of *Midian* had seven daughters: "and they came and drew water," &c.

situation, the learned Michaelis seems to have entertained some doubts; (See his notes on "Abulfedæ Descript. Ægypti. p. 117, (Goetting. 1776).

On the Coast, nearly opposite to *Jiddah*, we find a name, which I have, doubtfully, written *Andán* (عندان); (See Plate IX); for the second letter wants its diacritical point or points, both in the map and text, and is liable to many variations; as we may suppose it a B بـ, N نـ, T تـ, Y يـ, &c. The first letter, also, may be rendered *gh* by the addition of a dot, (غ); whatever be the name, this place is described in the MS. *(Súr al beldán)*, as terminating that tract which produces gold, and which appears in our map under the title of *Aredz al Maaden* (ارض المعدن), "the land of Mines," or Minerals. "And these mines "extend," says Ebn Haukal, "from the vicinity of the "*Suwád* of *Misr*, or Egypt, the space of ten *manzels* or "days journies, to a certain castle on the Sea Coast, at "a place called *Andán*"(11). Below the "land of Mines," is *Zeilaa* (زيلع), situate near the Straits of *Bábelmandeb*. This city appears to be the *Zálegh* (زالغ) of Edrisi, (Clim. I. Sect. 5). He describes it as a place of much maritime intercourse, and Marmol notices some remains of ancient edifices visible there. The *Beládal Habsheh* (بلاد الحبشه),

(11) واين معدن از نزديک سواد مصر مي گشد تا بده منزل بکوشکي که بر کنارهٔ دريا موضوع است وانرا عندان مي گويند MS. *Sur al Beldán.*

or "land of *Habsheh*," (Abyssinia), next offers itself, and the adjacent ocean bears the title of *Bahr al Habsheh* (بحر الحبشه), or Sea of Abyssinia. Then we enter the *Bahr al Zinge* (بحرالزنج), "The Sea of *Zinge*," or Ethiopia, so called from the *Belád al Zinge* (بلادالزنج) or land of Ethiopia, or, as we often write the name, *Zanguebar*.

Such is this Persian map; one of the most ancient that I have ever seen. How imperfectly it represents the actual inflexions and indentations of sea and coast, will be obvious to every Geographer at the first glance; and to any person who may compare it with the general map illustrating this Volume. Respecting that part of it which relates to the Persian Gulf, a map given in the second Volume should be consulted. Of sixteen maps annexed to the manuscript *Súr al Beldán*, it must be observed in justice to the Persian artist, that this which I have here copied, is not by any means the most correctly delineated or, perhaps, the most interesting, although best adapted to my present purpose. On a future occasion it will appear that, however inaccurately they may express the outlines of sea and land, those maps are highly useful from the succession of stages which they exhibit, and the names of places; resembling, at least, in this respect, the Peutingerian or Theodosian Table, that precious relick of Geographical antiquity.

No. V.

Coffee and Tobacco.

THROUGHOUT the latter part of this volume, frequent allusions have been made to the use of *coffee* and *tobacco* among the Persians; who in such a manner combine those articles, though of widely different origin, that according to one of their own sayings,

قهوه بي طنباكو مثل طعام بي نمكست

"Coffee without tobacco is like meat without salt."

As in our Northern European island, the leaf of Chinese tea has become, within a short time, almost necessary to every class; so in Persia and Turkey, the coffee and tobacco, at first introduced as foreign luxuries, now contribute to solace even the poorest inhabitants. Yet the Arabian berry has, probably, not been longer known among them, than the American weed, which, we may reasonably believe, they learned to smoke from the Portuguese. That coffee however, was the ancient Lacedemonian black broth, some of our early English travellers seem inclined to imagine; the first, I believe, who entertained this strange opinion, being not the least intelligent. Noticing coffee as used at Constantinople, when he visited that capital in 1610, Sandys ventures to ask, whether it might not have been "that blacke

"broth which was in use amongst the Lacedemonians"(12). That it was not, is proved by the answer of an ingenious antiquary(13).

Respecting the medicinal properties, (and perhaps the early history of coffee), much valuable information might be expected from a treatise written in the seventeenth century, and noticed by Rolamb, a Swede, who was at Constantinople in 1657. This treatise he aseribes to the Dutch Envoy at that capital, *M. Varner*, "a man "well versed in the Oriental languages, but fitter for a "professor than for a publick minister; for his whole "delight and business consisted in reading *Rabins*, and "all sorts of other Oriental writings," &c(14). It is mentioned in the "Encyclopædia Britannica,' and I

(12) Sandys's Travels, p. 66, (third edit. 1632). See also Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, p. 328, (third edit. 1665), and a "Voyage into the Levant," by a subsequent writer of inferior merit, Henry Blunt, p. 102, (fourth edit. 1650).

(13) "I shall reply to it," says Dr. Chandler, "that for making their black broth, "the cook was furnished with salt and vinegar, and bid to procure what was wanting "from a victim, (Plutarch); this, it has been conjectured, was blood. The epicure "will not lament that the entire receipt has not reached us". See "Travels in Asia "Minor," &c. p. 194, (second edit. 1776).

(14) See Churchills Collect. of Voyages, &c. Vol. V. p. 689, (ed. 1704). The M. Varner mentioned by Rolamb, is the learned Levinus Warner, who bequeathed to the University of Leyden above nine hundred Oriental Manuscripts, of which many are enriched with his own notes and comments. Some of these Manuscripts I once had the pleasure of inspecting, but too hastily, during a short visit to the noble Library of that City.

have heard from well-informed persons in Paris, that coffee was introduced among the French, (at least as an article of publick use) by Thevenôt. (Jean Michel, the younger, or the nephew, as he is often styled), whose Travels in Turkey and Persia are well known. But at what time it first became a favourite beverage among the Arabians, I have not been able to ascertain, although a Persian manuscript, the *Haft Aklim* (هفت اقليم) or "Seven Climates," describing *Mokha*, informs us that there was the tomb of SHEIKH SHA'DEBI (شيخ شادبي), or, according to one copy, SHA'DELI (شادلي), "who first "introduced the custom of drinking coffee"(15). The Persians sip it, extremely strong and hot, without milk or sugar, out of small china cups. Chardin acknowledges the difficulty of obtaining any satisfactory information respecting the earliest use of tobacco in Persia, (Voyages, &c. Tome IV. p. 33. Rouen 1723). For my own part I incline to the opinion, of Kæmpfer and Father Angelo, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese; and in many

(15) I have already given the original Persian of this passage in the "Oriental Collections." Vol. II. p. 320. *Mecha*, says Kæmpfer, is the peculiar region of Coffee. "*Kahwah*; quæ nullibi terrarum quàm circa *Mecham* Arabiæ "felicis colitur". (Amœn. Exot. p. 123.) Bruce, however, would trace it to *Caffa*; "the South province of Narea, whence it is first said to have come." Travels, &c. Vol. II. p. 411. (Dubl. 1791). Before we adopt this derivation, it would be necessary to learn whether the name of *Caffa* is written in Arabick letters (like the name of the berry) قهوه *Kahweh* or *Cahweh*. Herbert, as quoted in note 12, mentions "cobo or coffee; a drink black as soot, thick, and strong-scented, "distrained from bunchy, bunna, or bay-berries, &c."

provinces it now grows luxuriantly(16). Chardin, Kæmpfer, Niebuhr, and more modern travellers, Mr. Scott Waring, Mr. Morier, and others, have given delineations of the *Caleán* (قلیان generally pronounced *Calecon*); that glass bottle from which the smoke of tobacco, passing through water that purifies and cools it, is inhaled by means of tubes or pipes; these are either straight and short, or so long and flexible that they accommodate themselves to the motions of a horse; and the luxurious Persian may, without any interruption of his progress, smoke through the pliant tube as he rides along, while a servant by his side carries the *Caleán*. Some of these machines are very neatly ornamented, and the prices are proportionably high. Those used by the king and princes, at great publick audiences and on other occasions of ceremony, are often studded with jewels of considerable value. In a future plate of this work, copied from an original portrait, (of a Persian using it), the *Caleán* shall be accurately represented.

(16) "Nicotiana ante sesqui circiter secula toti antiquo orbi, adeoque et Persiæ, "cœpit à Lusitanis transvectoribus innotescere." Kæmpf. Amœnt. Exot. p. 640. "Li Portughesi furono i primi che lo portorno in Persia." Angel. Garophyl. Pers. p. 427. In his Persian column, on the same subject, he says that the Portuguese brought *tobacco* (تنباکو) from an American island of that name.

No. VI.

Persian Game of Chugán.

IN page 317, I promised that an article of this Appendix should be devoted to the equestrian game called *Chugán* (چوگان) once universally practised throughout Persia, and, as report stated, often played on a level piece of ground near *Shiráz*, and probably within a period not very long past. It was a favourite recreation of Kings and Chiefs; and originally, I believe, considered as almost peculiar to illustrious personages; we learn however, from a letter of Pietro della Valle, written at *Cazvín* in 1618, that SHA'H ABBA'S, the monarch then reigning, exercised himself frequently in this royal sport, and sometimes invited those to participate, who understood it well, although not distinguished by exalted rank (17); and in half a century after, Chardin describes it as one of the popular amusements; admitting thirty or forty persons, forming two parties, to engage at once(18)

The object of those who played, was to drive through the goal, with sticks having semi-circular or straight

(17) "E alcuni che giuocano bene (il giuocho del *Pallamaglio.*) benche non "siano di molto gran qualita, il Rè stesso spesso gli chiama a giuocare." Viaggi.

(18) "Leur jeu de mail se fait dans une fort grande place, au bout de laquelle "sont des pilliers, proche l'un de l' autre qui servent de passe; on jette la balle "au milieu de la place," &c. Voyages, &c. Tome IV. p. 127. Rouen 1723.

transverse heads, a ball made of light wood, which the contending parties, governed by certain laws prescribed, and striking only when at full gallop, endeavoured to bear off, one from the other(19). Of this game there were several kinds; and I perceive in the pictures of Manuscripts executed between two hundred and four hundred years ago, that the *chugáns* or sticks are represented with heads of three slightly different shapes, which the Miscellaneous Plate (No. 19) exhibits.

Degraded into a pedestrian exercise and under various forms and denominations, this game seems to have been widely diffused throughout Europe, and we may perhaps trace it in the Cricket of England, the Golf, or Gough of Scotland, and the Hurling-matches of Ireland. Pietro della Valle discovered it in the Florentine *calcio*(20); and to me the original name *chugán* appears but slightly disguised in the *chicane* of Languedoc, where the game is played as in Persia, with a wooden

(19) Pietro della Valle describes the ball as "una boccia di legno leggiero." (Viag. Lettera di Luglio 1618.) Of a game so celebrated among the Persians, it is surprising that Dr. Hyde has only said; "Est et pila lignea quâ exercetur *Pililudi-* "*um equestre*, seu *Clariludium*, anglicè "SPOW-BALL." Hic ludus a Persis equi- "tibus exerceri solet in Hippodromo magno ubi pilam ligneam ultrò citróque "impellentes, sese et equos suos ad agilitatem excitant." See "De Pilæ Ludis," in the Second Volume of Hyde's Miscellaneous Works, p. 390.

(20) "Ci è solo questa differenza tra il giuocho de' Persiani, e'l calcio de' Fio- "rentini; che'i Fiorentini giuocano con molta gente a piedi, &c. Ma i Persiani, più "nobilmente, giuocano a cavallo, &c." Viaggi, Lettera da Cazvin, 26. Luglio 1618.

ball and a club headed like a mallet or hammer. Yet the learned Du Cange thought it possible that *la chicane* might be derived from the English word *chicken*; because the domestick fowls so called run hastily to snatch from each other whatever is thrown before them as food![71] Had this ingenious antiquary, generally so

[71] I shall here give, in one note, some passages from Du Cange's Dissertation VIII, added to Joinville's "Histoire de Saint Louis." (Paris, folio, 1668, p. 185 et seq.) a work not often found in private libraries. Of the "*Chicane ou jeu de paume a cheval*," he says, "c'est un sujet qui n'est pas indigne de la curiosité, "puisqu' il est connu de peu de personnes, et qu'il nous decouvre une espéce "de manége pratiqué particulierement par les nouveaux Grecs, qui semble avoir eté "ignoré dans l'occident." Having mentioned some Byzantine historians who allude to it, he adds: "ce jeu est appellé par eux d'un terme barbare τζυκανιστηριον qui etoit aussi le nom du lieu qui *servoit* a ces exercises; ce lieu "etoit dans l'enclos du grand palais de Constantinople prés de l' apartement "doré," &c. "Ce lieu etoit d'une vaste etendue comme on recueille des termes "de Luithprand, "qua *Zucanistrii* magnitudo protenditur," &c. He refers also to Anna Comnena; Constant. Porphyrog. Theophanes, &c. and observes that τζυκανιζειν is equivalent to *ex aequalibus equis*, and σφαιριζειν in expressing "*jouer a la balle a cheval*." "Mais pour retourner au jeu de la balle a cheval "que les Grecs appellent *Tzycanisterium*, il semble que ces peuples en doivent a "nos François; et que d' abord il n'a pas eté autre que celui qui est encore en "usage dans le Languedoc, que l'on appelle le jeu de la *chicane*, et en d'autres "provinces, le jeu de mail; sauf qu'en Languedoc ce jeu se fait en plein cam-"pagne et dans les grands chemins; ou l'on pousse avec un petit maillet mis au "bout d'un baton d'une longeur proportionée une boule de bois," &c. "De "sorte que *chicaner* n'est autre chose que le τζυκανιζειν des Grecs, qui ont cou-"tume d'exprimer le c ou ch des Latins par le tz, comme Eustathius sur Di-"onysius nous apprend, &c." "Quant a l'origine de ce mot, comme toutes les "conjectures dont on se sert en de semblables rencontres sont pour le plus "souvent incertaines, je ne scay si je dois m'y engager; car je n'oserais pas avancer "qu'il vient de l'anglois *chicquen* qui signifie un poullet, en sorte que *chicaner* seroit "imiter les poullets, qui ont coutume de courir les uns apres les autres pour "arracher les morceaux hors du bec; ce que font ceux qui jouent a la Chicane, "a la façon des Grecs, jettans une balle au milieu d'un champ, et chacun tachant "de l'enlever a son compagnon."

successful in his philological inquiries, recollected the Eastern game, he probably would not have inclined to imagine *chicane* of French origin, or its name English; nor would he most certainly, have left it for me to remark (and no one else, I believe, has made this observation) that the barbarous word *Tzucan-isterion*, signifying a place where games are played with a ball, expresses, in its two first syllables, the Persian چوگان *chúgán*(22).

We find the Greek Emperor, Manuel Comnenus with his Byzantine princes and nobles enjoying this amusement on horse-back in the twelfth century; the wooden ball having been exchanged for one more soft, formed of stuffed leather; and the stick or wand, instead of a hammer-like head, terminating in a hoop; which, as our battledores, or tennis-rackets, presented to the ball a reticulated space. This imperial sport is well described by the historian Cinnamus, who, probably, was a spectator; for he accompanied Manuel on various occasions both in Europe and Asia; and, if we are not authorized to infer from his account, that in earlier times among the Greeks, this game, as I before observed of its Persian original, was almost peculiar to Royal players; yet skill in so difficult and dangerous an exercise ap-

(22) To express the Persian and English *ch*, or *tch* (the Italian *c* before *e* or *i*), the modern Greeks use *tz*; thus, as I have already shown (See p. 41), they write τζίφτε, τζικατρίτζι, in imitation of the Italian word *certo*, *cicatrice*.

pears to have been considered no unworthy accomplishment of "Kings and the sons of Kings"(22). Some readers will probably be gratified by the addition of a few particulars concerning the Persian game.

It is supposed by writers of the ninth and tenth centuries, to have been practised in very early ages, and well known throughout the East when Prince SIA'VESH, with a select band of seven *Iránian* or Persian heroes, (about 600 years before Christ), astonished AFRASIA'B, king of *Turán* or Scythia, by his equestrian skill and the dexterity which he displayed at a memorable game, performed to the sound of drums and trumpets, and described with much animation by FIRDAUSI(24). This Poet also, celebrates the strength of GUSHTASP, (the Hystaspes of classical history), who wielded the *chugán* with such effect that "the ball could be no longer "seen by any person on the *meidán*, (the field, scene "of action, or hippodrome), as his blow had caused it "to vanish among the clouds"(25).

(22) Ἐπί τι σωφρονῶν καθίζειν γεγηθώς ἑαυτον, εὐθυμέτον ὁν βασιλεῦσι καὶ παισὶ βασιλέων ἀνακεῖσθαι. Cinnami Hist. Lib. IV. p. 286. (Traj. ad Rhen. 1652)

(24) سیاوش از ایرانیان هفت مرد
کزین کرد شایسته اندر نبرد

See in the MS. *Shâhnâmah*, (story of SIA'VESH) the verses immediately following these. In some copies the second line ends with کارکرد

(25) بمیدان کسي نیز کویش ندید
شد از زخم او در هوا نا پدید

DARA, or DARIUS, willing to insult Alexander (who had withholden his portion of the tribute exacted by former Persian kings, and had declared that he would resist the demand by force of arms), sent him, if we may credit the historian TABRI, a ball and a *chugán*, as instruments of sport, better suited to his youth and inexperience than warlike occupations(26).

SHA'PU'R, whom we call Sapor or Sapores, while yet a child and of suspected birth, proved his descent from ARDESHI'R, (Artaxares or Artaxerxes) by venturing alone through a crowd of boys engaged in playing at this game, to snatch the ball which had been driven near that Monarch's seat(27). And among the accomplishments

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See the MS. *Shâhnámah*, in the history of king LOHRASP, whose son (GUSHTASP) exhibited this surprising feat at the court of *Kaisar i Rúm* (قیصر روم) the Cæsar of Greece, (or Roman Emperor). From the context, however, it appears that the Greeks were already acquainted with this Persian game.

(26) "And he sent to him a *chugán*, and a ball, and one *kefiz*, (or considerable measure) of the grain *kunjud*.

MS. Tarikh i Tabri. و اورا چوگان فرستاد و گویی و یک تفیز کنجد

The great quantity of *kunjud* or *sesame* seed (called in Arabick *semsem* (سمسم) and in Hindustani *til*), implied the numerous soldiers whom Darius would bring against Alexander should the tribute be withheld. This significant present reminds us of the bird, mouse, frog and five arrows, sent by the Scythians to a Persian Monarch, the predecessor and namesake of Darius, as we learn from Herodotus, (Lib. iv. 131). Ὄρνιθά τε καὶ μῦν καὶ βάτραχον καὶ ὀιστοὺς πέντε. History shows that similar tokens were used on many other occasions, to express insult and defiance.

(27) This circumstance is related as an historical fact by the grave TABRI in his Chronicle, and by FIRDAUSI in his *Book of Kings* or *Shâhnámah*. We find it, also, repeated by a multitude of subsequent writers. On the first view of a fine *Sassanian*

of BAHRA'M (Varanes or Vararanes), a prince on whose education much care had been bestowed, we find enumerated by TABRI, besides the science of archery, "horsemanship, the *chugán*, hunting, and whatever else "was useful or necessary for kings"(*). From the same writer's account it appears that a certain appropriate dress was worne by those who played this game; of which I have traced the history through almost every reign of

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sculpture near Persepolis, I fancied that two small figures appearing in it might allude to this daring act of the young SHAPU'R, which led, after a lapse of some years, to the main action represented in the sculpture; his participation of the royal diadem with ARDESHI'R, his father, (See Plate XXXII, in Niebuhr's "Voyage," &c. Tome II. Amst. 1780. Morier's Travels, Vol. I. pl. XIX. p. 138; and an engraving from my own sketch, given in the chapter of this work relating to Persepolis). Knowing that Eastern painters or sculptors rarely attempt to reduce distant objects by the rules of perspective, I thought that those diminutive figures might express, episodically or retrospectively, the extreme youth of SHAPUR at the epoch of this memorable game: for he is described as only seven years old by BENA'KETI and others, who adopt FIRDAUSI's account;

کنون هفت ساله است شاپور تو

while some extend his age to ten years; thus TABRI says چون غلام ده ساله شد and this historian is followed by HAMDALLAH, (in his *Tarikh Guzidah*). Although the game of *chugán* was generally played by persons of mature growth on horseback, yet it is not improbable that children amused themselves on foot, with the ball and club, like the Italians with their *calcio*, (See note 20). TABRI, according to one manuscript, supposes the young prince to have been mounted; but three other copies of his Chronicle leave this circumstance doubtful. From a passage in the *Shahnémah*, we might infer that he was on horseback; but the sculptor, if he designed any allusion to this game, apparently wanted room for equestrian figures.

(*) Thus according to my oldest copy of TABRI's *Tarikh*,

سواري وچوگان وشکار و هرچه ملکانرا بکار اید

See the Greek passage from Cinnamus, quoted in note 23.

the *Sassanian* dynasty(*). It might be shown by a variety of anecdotes, that this exercise was in as much esteem among the Mohammedan Sovereigns, as among their Fire-worshipping predecessors; and it would appear that they began to learn when very young. TABRI describing some events of the eighth century; (that which immediately preceded his own time), says, "HARU'N (AR'RASHI'D) "was still little, so that when mounted on horseback "he could not reach, or strike the ball with a *chugán*"(*).

I shall close, and perhaps, enliven my remarks, by annexing a plate (XXII), which represents the manner of playing this game in the sixteenth century, and, as we

(*) The Persian general BAHRA'M or VARAHRA'N whom our historians, Evagrius, Theophylact and others call Varamus, having detected a person in the *meidán*, wearing a coat of mail concealed under his *chugán* dress (صدره چوگاني) immediately slew him as we learn from TABRI. It was this BAHRAM who, about the year 590, endeavoured to dethrone Chosroes, or KHUSRAU (خسرو) surnamed PARVI'Z (پرويز), a monarch whose amours with the beautiful SHI'RI'N (شيرين) are celebrated among the Persians in many popular Romances, founded, as I am inclined to believe, on fact. The great NIZA'MI has recorded them in one of his most admirable Poems, from which we learn that women sometimes played at the *chugán*; for he describes SHI'RI'N and her lovely handmaids, as the moon and attendant stars, engaged on one side, against the king and his obsequious courtiers on the other.

ز يکسو ماه بود و اخترانش
ز ديگر سو شه و فرمان برانش

MS, *Khusrau ve Shirin*, dated by the author 571, (1175).

(*) و هرون (الرشيد) هنوز خرد بود چنانکه بر اسپ نشستي جوکان نتوانستي زدن
See the MS. *Tarikh i Tabri*, (transactions of the year 163, or of our era 779). Yet at this time HARU'N must have been in his fifteenth year.

Persian Pictures

are authorized to believe, in ages long antecedent. It is accurately copied from a very beautiful Persian manuscript, containing the works of HA'FIZ, transcribed in the year 956 of the *Hijrah*, 1549 of Christ; the manuscript is in my own collection. This delineation exhibits two horsemen contending for the ball; their short jackets seem peculiarly adapted to this sport; we see the *mil* (میل) or goals; servants attend on foot, holding *chugáns* in readiness for other persons who may join in the amusement; or to supply the place of any that may be broken. A young prince (as his *parr* (پر) or feather would indicate), receives on his entrance into the *meidán*, or place of exercise, a *chugán* from the hands of a bearded man, very plainly dressed; yet, as an intelligent painter at *Isfahán* assured me, (and as appears from other miniatures in the same book), this bearded figure is designed to represent HA'FIZ himself; and it is not improbable that the feather merely serves to distinguish him whom the poet most esteemed among the youths of *Shiráz*.

This picture occurs in illustration of a verse which HA'FIZ addresses to the favourite youth. we perceive it above the figures in the plate, thus written

شهسوارا خوش بميدان امدي گوي بزن

"*Shahsuwárá khúsh bemeidán ámedy; gúiy bezann!*

"Welcome to the *meidán*, thou chief of horsemen! strike "the ball!" See among the Odes of HA'FIZ (in ن), that beginning with انسر سلطان گل پيدا شد از طرف چمن

I have already mentioned some ramifications of the *chúgán*, seen under various forms, in European countries; and shall here add, on the authority of Roberts's "Cambrian Popular Antiquities," (p. 331), that a manuscript of Queen Elizabeth's time describes the *knappan* as a game formerly played in Pembrokeshire, by two parties, several hundred persons at a side, some mounted on horseback, endeavouring with cudgels, three feet and a half long, to carry off a ball, one from the other; and in the distant region of Chili, we find a similar game; for the Spanish Jesuit Ovalle, (who visited South America about the year 1646), speaks of *la chueca*, as played by forty or fifty persons at a side, each striving to snatch a ball from the other, and "carry it to the mark "with crooked bandy-sticks." (See Churchill's Collection of Voyages, &c. Vol. III. p. 75, first edition). When the emblematical gift sent by Darius to Alexander was mentioned, (in page 350), I might have remarked that the *gúi ve chúgán* (گوی وچوگان) or ball and mace, of the Persian story, appear as a *top* and *whip* in one of our old English Romances, published by the ingenious Mr. Weber.

"A scourge and a top of nobleys"

accompanied a letter full of lofty boasts and threats from

"Darie, the kyng of kynges",

in which, having upbraided Alexander as a "yonge rob-"bour", "who brent my townes, my men y-slawe" he says—

"Therefore, Y have thè y-sent
"A top and a scorge to present,
"And with gold a litel punge
"For thow hast yeris yonge:
"Wend thou hom therwith, and play" &c.

(See "Kyng Alisaunder" chap. VIII, among the "Metrical "Romances", Vol. I. p. 74). Alexander accepts the present, and interprets it as an omen favourable to himself; with the whip he is to chastise Darius; the top signifies the "world that round is" &c. So, according to TABRI, Alexander derived prognosticks of success from the ball and *chugán* sent to him in contempt by Darius.

No. VII.

Persian Gabrs or Fire-worshippers.

IN addition to some anecdotes which I have recorded, concerning a persecuted but estimable race, (See page 97, and Chap. III. *passim*); it may be here mentioned that during Sir Gore Ouseley's Embassy in Persia, various sums of money, amounting to one hundred and seventy thousand pounds, were entrusted by him to FERIDU'N (فریدون) a *Gabr*, who accounted for the disbursement of them in such a manner as evinced his perfect honesty, and warm zeal for his employer. When the Ambassador asked what recompense he wished, the worthy Fire-

worshipper only requested that a small piece of ground should be allotted to the *Gabrs* at *Yezd*, whereon they might construct a *dakhmah* (دخمه) or depository for their dead. At Sir Gore Ouseley's solicitation the king granted this request.

No. VIII.

City of Shápúr and Bridge near Shúshter.

THAT the city of *Shápúr* was founded, or rebuilt, by the first monarch who bore that name, appears from passages quoted in the sixth chapter, where (see p. 298) I have alluded to FIRDAUSI's account. This, in the oldest copy of his *Sháhnámah* before me, states that the king erected a stately and beautiful city with a castle, at *Beshápúr* in *Pars*(31).

بپارس اندرون شارستاني بلند
بر اورد پاکیزه و سودمند
کهندز بشهر بشاپور کرد(32)

(31) The name *Beshápúr* I find thus written in TABRI's Chronicle, بہ شابور *Beh Shábúr*; and this has been corrupted into *Beshárur*, as appears from a manuscript quoted in page 297.

(32) The primary sense of شارستان *Sháristán* occurring in the first line, is a "city or town" (شهر *Shehr*) according to the best manuscript dictionaries, *Jehangíri*, *Berhan Kattea* &c. But it signifies also a villa or summer-house in the midst of orchards and gardens; and is the name of a book composed by *Firzánch Bahrám* فرزانه بهرام a learned *Gabr* or Fire-worshipper.

The collation of five manuscripts, each copy presenting various readings in this part of the *Shánámah*, will enable me, at another opportunity, to reconcile some difficulties of the text. I shall here only remark, that in the construction of this city, FIRDAUSI supposes the Persian Monarch to have been assisted by the advice of BERA'NU's (برانوس), or BEZA'NU'SH (بزانوش), whom he describes, not as the *Kaisar* of *Rúm*, the Grecian or Roman Emperor Valerian; but as his chief general, a brave warrior and well accomplished in the *dánesh i filesúfán i Rúm* (دانش فیلسوفان روم), or "wisdom of the "Philosophers of Greece." This general had been taken prisoner at *Bákúniah* (باکونیه), or as in one copy *Baluniah* (بالونیه); whence, after his victory, SHA'PU'R proceeded to *Ahwáz* (اهواز), in Susiana, and, as before-mentioned, to *Párs*; leading with him every where, and consulting the sage *Bezánúsh*;

همي برد هرسو بزانوش را
بدو داشتي در سخن گوش را

particularly on occasion of constructing a bridge over the river near *Shúshter*, a stream so broad that no person could cross it.

يكي رود پهن زير شوشتر
نكردي بران رود بر كس گزر(33)

(33) One MS. erroneously reads, in the first line of this distich بهمن *Bahman*, (which would be a proper name), for پهن *pahan*, broad, wide, &c. In another copy we read

يكي رود پهن بود در شوشتر ـ كه ماهي نكردي بر آن بر گزر

This work having been completed, the king restored BEZA'NU'SH to liberty and dismissed him with a magnificent reward. But the bridge is by many historians ascribed to Sapor or SHA'PU'R the second, entitled DHU'LECTA'F. I shall not here stop to remark other instances of confusion between the transactions of those two Monarchs; a confusion arising from the identity of name, and the occurence of events nearly similar in their respective wars with the *Kaisar* or Romun Emperor.

"There was a certain river at *Shúshter*, so very broad that even a fish could "scarcely cross it." Of the celebrated *Shadurwán* (شادروان) at *Dil-e-fúl* (دزفول) which comprised an immense *band* (بند) or dyke, and a *pul* (پل) or bridge of fifty-five or fifty-six arches, large and small, I have now before me the account given by TABRI about nine hundred years ago, and a most minute description composed by a native of *Shúshter* within twenty or thirty years; what the intermediate writer ALI YEZDI has related concerning it, may be seen in his History of TAIMU'R, very faithfully translated into French by Petis de la Croix. The bridge still exists, and has been visited by many persons of my acquaintance; but the reader will probably doubt whether its duration should be attributed to the tenacious or adhesive quality of the cement wherewith it was constructed; a mixture of sheep's milk (شیر گوسفند *Shír i gúsfand*) with lime and white plaster (نوره و گچ *naureh* and *gatch*) as we learn from the modern writer above-mentioned; whose account I shall more amply quote in a future work on the Geography and Antiquities of Susiana. Some passages from manuscripts of considerable authority among the oldest Persian writings, shall also be quoted in another place, on the subject of Eastern Architecture; showing, if we may believe such records, that *sheep's milk* was not the most extraordinary ingredient which builders used in the composition of cement or mortar, when particularly desirous of giving durability to their works. It will be sufficient here to prove, by an extract from Mr. Walpole's valuable "Memoirs on European and "Asiatic Turkey," (p. 318, first edition), that Persia is not the only country in which a similar mixture has been employed for the purposes of architecture. "Codinus "(de *orig.* Constant.) observes, that in building the walls of Sta. Sophia, water in "which barley had been boiled, was mixed with the lime; and that the stones were "as strongly united together by the mortar as if cramps of iron had been used."

That vestiges of Grecian or Roman workmanship remained at *Shápúr*, I was not singular in fancying while hastily viewing the ruins of that city. Some also, it is probable, may be discovered at the great bridge, erected by SHA'PU'R, whether the first or second of this name(*), for we have good authority to believe that both employed in this work, (either founding or repairing), and in other publick structures, Grecian artists expressly hired or discovered among the prisoners taken in their wars with Valerian and Julian. To such artists I would likewise attribute certain medals of some Sassanian kings, while the devices on others bear every mark of original Persian execution.

No. IX.

Sacred Trees.

HOWEVER replete with interesting objects, the ample field of antiquarian research offers but few to our notice under a more attractive form than trees; whether we regard them as distinguishing remarkable spots, the

(*) From a passage in Strabo's Geography, (Lib. xv), Τὰ μὲν Σοῦσα ἐν μεσογάίοις κεῖται ἐπὶ τῷ Χοάσπῃ ποταμῷ περατέρω κατὰ τὸ ζεῦγμα, the learned Vincent was induced to suspect "that this bridge (of *Diz e fúl*), or something to represent it, is "much more ancient than Sapour." (Voyage of Nearchus, p. 452, sec. edit). But the *zeugma* of Strabo must be a subject for discussion in another place.

scenes of memorable transactions; as dedicated to certain divinities; or, as in some cases, almost identified with those divinities themselves.

It is not my intention, nor is it necessary here, to trace back the history of that veneration with which particular trees have been honoured in all ages, and, I believe, in all countries. The Biblical reader will easily recollect many important trees besides that which stood "*in* the midst of the garden of Eden;" emphatically styled "the tree of life;" and "the tree of knowledge of good and evil"([35]). He will recollect the idolatrous worship in *groves*, and under every *green tree*([36]). The oak by Shechem, under, which Jacob hid all the idols and ear-rings([37]); what a treasure, could they now be found! The oak near Bethel which marked the grave of Deborah, and was significantly called *Allon-bachuth*([38]). The

([35]) Genes. II. 9. Long before the oaks of Dodona celebrated in Grecian mythology, became oracularly vocal, the tree of knowledge, according to a strange Rabbinical tradition had spoken loudly. "*Irit serpens* et appropinquavit arbori, quæ "vociferata est et dixit, Impie, ne appropinquas ad me." See "Bartolocrii Biblioth. "Rabbin." I. p. 322. The same work (III. p. 592), mentions some doubts whether it was a vine or a *fig-tree*, &c.

([36]) Exod. xxxiv. 13. Deuteron. xvi. 21. II. Kings, xvii. 10 16 and xviii. 4. Isaiah. I. 29. &c.

([37]) Genes. xxxv. 4. Respecting these ear-rings נזמים I shall offer some conjectures in another place.

([38]) *Allon Bachuth* אלון בכות The oak of weeping. Genes. xxxv. 8.

palm-tree under which another Deborah, the prophetess, dwelt(39). The oak under which sat "the man of God" (I. Kings. XIII. 14). The oak in Ophrah, under which the angel of God appeared unto Gideon, and conversed with him(40). The oak that was in the very Sanctuary of the Lord(41).

These and other trees which we may suppose lofty and umbrageous, such as the oaks, and poplars, and elms, because "the shadow thereof is good"(42), must immediately occur to a Biblical reader; but the course of this article will remind him also, of that humble *bush*, which the Lord consecrated by his presence, when he revealed himself to Moses in flaming fire on the mountain of Horeb. (Exod. III. 2. 4.)

(39) It is described like a certain land-mark; "and she dwelt under *the palm-tree* "*of Deborah*, between Ramah and Bethel in Mount Ephraim," &c. Judges IV. 5.

(40) Or, according to some, God himself, (Judges VI. 11. 14. 16). We read also in Genesis (XVIII. 1), that the Lord appeared unto Abraham in *the oaks* or at *the oak* of Mamre, for so the Hebrew text באלני ממרא and the Greek Septuagint, (πρὸς τῇ δρυϊ τῇ Μαμβρῆ), exhibit what in our English Bible is rendered "the plains of "Mamre."

(41) "Under an oak that was *by* the sanctuary of the Lord," according to the English Bible, (Joshua, XXIV. 26). But we are authorized by the Hebrew text תחת האלה אשר במקדש יהוה to translate "*in* the sanctuary." My next note will afford occasion for remarking a different sense given to אלה, here rendered an *oak*.

(42) Hosea. IV. 13. The Hebrew word אלה rendered *elms* in our English version of the Bible, is by some supposed to signify the *terebinthus* or turpentine tree, a kind of Pistachia, Mastick or *Lentiscus*. But the Septuagint translate it ξύλον σκιερόν, *ζοτον*, a tree that *over shadows*.

With whatever veneration our first parents regarded the trees of Paradise(43), it appears that some which grew in natural and common earth were actually worshipped by the perverse Israelites, of early ages, according to a learned Jew, one of those Rabbinical writers whose authority is the most respected(44).

But the immediate object of this article (a Persian custom to which I have alluded in page 313), and the narrow limits of an Appendix, do not allow me to expatiate farther amidst the groves of Scriptural history or of Jewish superstition. Nor can I enjoy more than a hasty glance at those trees reputed Sacred in classical antiquity: of which such numbers offer themselves to the imagination, as would constitute whole forests. So frequently were *groves* and *woods* dedicated to Religious

(43) "Si non reverentiâ aliquâ coluerint, saltem colendas putaverunt, et non aliter "ac sedem aut habitationis locum Dei invisibilis agnoverunt. Qua imbuti opinione "cum jam expulsi essent e Paradiso, similem sibi deligerunt locum in quo Deum, "cujus quidem è gratia licet exciderant, colerent." Almeloveen "Opuscula, sive "Antiq. e Sacris Profan. Specimen," &c. p. 14. (Amst. 1686).

(44) See the Tract on Idolatry composed in the twelfth century, by Moses Maimonides and translated from Hebrew into Latin by Dionysius Vossius (Denis Vos) a youth of extraordinary erudition and ingenuity, who died in his twenty second year, (1633). I allude particularly to the אשרה (a *tree* or sometimes a *grove*) which either shaded an idol or was itself worshipped, (Cap. VII. sect. 16. p. 30), and to the adoration of אילן whether a kind of oak or any other tree, (Cap. VIII. sect. 6. p. 43,) using the folio edition, printed at Amsterdam, in 1700, and appended to the great work, "De "Idololatria" of Gerardus Joannes Vossius, the father of Dionysius.

purposes, that at last those very terms, (in Greek *alsos*, *lucus* in Latin), implied consecration(43).

The trunk or stump of a single tree afforded the most obvious materials for a bust or statue; and even unfashioned by human art, became on some occasions, an object of idolatrous worship, whilst any rude, flat stone, or heap of earth at its base, served as an altar, and the surrounding grove as a temple. That groves in ancient times were considered as temples we learn from Pliny(44); and there is authority for believing that images

(43) A passage from Pindar, (of which I shall transcribe the last sentence, "Βαλλόμενοι ερετίδαι 'αλσεων") is adduced by Strabo (Geogr. Lib. ix) to prove that all temples or consecrated places, even such as wanted trees, were poetically entitled *groves*. Οι γε παλαιοι εκαλουν τα ιερα τεμενη των θεων. Among many hundred extracts which I once compiled, illustrating this branch of antiquities, another passage from Pindar offers itself, wherein αλσεα may be translated *temples*. Κτιζει δ' αλσεα μεζονα Θεων. Pyth. Ode V. Respecting the word *lucus*, I must now mention Servius's remark, (in Virg. Æn. I. 441), although it has been quoted by so many writers on ancient Idolatry. "Wherever Virgil uses *lucus*, consecration follows." "Ubicunque Virgilius lucum ponit, sequitur etiam consecratio." The same commentator regards *lucus* as synonimous, with "sacred place;" (in Æn. V. 448), "quod "in luco, id est, in loco sacro;" he tells us also (in Æn. IX. 4), that religion is always implied where *lucus* is mentioned "nunquam est lucus sine religione." "And it "seems," says the learned Potter, "to have been a general custom which prevailed not "only in Europe but over all the Eastern countries, to attribute a sort of religion to "groves." (Archæologia Græca. Vol. I. Book 2, ch. 2).

(44) Treating of the respect paid to trees, he says that they were formerly Temples of the Gods, and that even in his time the rusticks, observing ancient usage, dedicated to the Deity any tree of pre-eminent beauty, or excellence: "fuere numinum "templa, priscoque ritu simplicia rura etiam nunc Deo præcellentem arborem "dicant." (Nat. Hist. Lib. XII. cap. 1).

were placed in groves sooner than within the walls of religious edifices(47). Also that in the formation of statues, wood was employed before stone or marble, appears from Pausanias(48), and is declared by many antiquaries; it will suffice to mention three; Count Caylus(49), the illustrious Winkelmann, alone equal to a multitude(50), and the ingenious Ernesti(51).

That various trees were consecrated, each to a particular divinity, we know from numerous passages so familiar to every classical reader, that I need scarcely

(47) "Illud quoque probabile videtur, prius in lucis, quam in templis, simulacra "posita." See a note of D. Vossius on Mos. Maim. "De Idololatria," (Cap I. sect. 3). He had previously declared his opinion that the first Temples were those erected about Sepulchres, and that statues and similar memorials existed long before temples.

(48) Ξόανα γὰρ ἦν τότε τοῦτο, ἐπὶ ξεστοῦ πάντα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Αἰγύπτια. Coriath. cap. xix. (p. 162. ed. Kuhn. Lips. 1696).

(49) "Il n'est pas douteux que cette matière n'ait été la premiere mise en œuvre "parce qu'elle est la plus facile," &c. Recueil d' Antiquités, Tome I. p. 118.

(50) "L'on faisait des statues de bois, avant qu'on en fit de pierre et de marbre." Winkelm. "Hist. de l'Art de l'Antiquité." Liv. I. ch. 2. p. 22. I am under the necessity of quoting Huber's French translation of Winkelmann (Leips. 1781), not having at present, what I once enjoyed, an opportunity of consulting the improved and augmented edition in Italian, by Carlo Fea.

(51) "Omnium primam figuram humanam e ligno, deinde saxo effingere sculpendo, "exhaudoque tentasse homines credibile est." Jo. Ernesti "Archæologia Literaria," p. 60. Lips. 1790, (an edition which comprises the excellent emendations and excursus of G. H. Martin).

quote on this subject, Virgil and Pliny(52). The statue or each God was often, (perhaps generally though not necessarily) made from the tree esteemed sacred to him. But I shall not here trace the idol worshipped while yet merely a rude trunk or stock, and in that state called *Sanis* (Σανὶς); through the *Xoanon* (ξόανον), when the wood was pared or shaven; until it became a *Deikelon* (Δείκηλον, Δαίδαλον) or *Bretas* (Βρέτας) having assumed a likeness, however faint, of the human form. This progress has been described by several writers on the Religion and Arts of Greece; below I refer to some who have, besides, amply noticed the respect in which trees were held(53).

(52) "Populus Alcidæ gratissima; vitis Iaccho,
"Formosæ myrtus Veneri; sua laurea Phœbo." (Virg. Ecl. vii. 61).
In Pliny's Natural History, (Lib. XII. Cap. I. "de arborum honore,") we read that "Arborum genera numinibus suis dicata perpetuo servantur; ut Jovi esculus, "Apollini laurus, Minervæ olea, Veneri myrthus, Herculi populus," &c. See also Phædrus, and others.

(53) Potter, Winkelmann and Ernesti, have been already mentioned. The celebrated work, also of G. J. Vossius, "De Theologia Gentili," or, as generally quoted, "De Idololatria," I have incidentally named. See likewise the Dissertations of many learned writers collected in those vast repertories of Archæological science, the "Thesaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum" by J. Gronovius, (Lug. Bat. 1697 to 1702, 13 Vols. folio) And the "Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum," of J. G. Grævius, (12 Vols. folio, Lugd. Bat. 1694 to 1699). The "Antiquitatum Romanarum Corpus," by Rosinus, published with the excellent *Paralipomena* of Dempster (Genev. 1659, and different editions). Hofmann's "Lexicon Universale," 4 Vols. folio (Lugd. Bat. 1698). That useful manual, the "Antiquitatum Græcarum præcipue Atticarum, "brevis Descriptio;" by Lambert Bos, Franeker, 1713. 12mo. since published with valuable additions by Fred. Leisner. Montfaucon's "Antiquité Expliquée," forming, with the supplement, 15 Vols. folio, Paris 1719, &c. Spence's Polymetis, folio, Lond. 1747, and subsequent editions. The "Recueil d'Antiquités," of Caylus, 7 Vols. 4to. Paris 1752, &c.

But it must not be here forgotten, (and I shall probably soon recall this circumstance to the reader) that as votive offerings, or as tokens of veneration, wreaths and fillets, and chaplets or garlands were often suspended from the sacred branches; a more elegant and far more innocent form of homage to a Divinity than (as among some nations) the staining of trees with blood, which had just flowed from the expiring victim, not unfrequently human(54).

Concerning those offerings, and wreaths or chaplets, a multiplicity of Greek and Latin extracts might be here adduced, and illustrated by means of the devices on medals, and sculptured marbles, the paintings on vases, and other precious monuments of antiquity. But the limits usually assigned to an Appendix admit few quotations; I must, however, notice those lines wherein, mentioning the intended consecration of a shady plane-tree to Helen, (who was the daughter of Jupiter, and worshipped as a Goddess in the Troad, in Rhodes and Lacedemon), Theocritus describes the Spartan virgins declaring that they would begin the ceremony by pla-

(54) This is proved by many witnesses ancient and modern besides Lucan. See his remarkable description of the sacred wood near *Massilia* or Marseilles, (Phars. III).

Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo,
Omnis et humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos, &c.

Adam of Bremen, Scheffer of Upsal, Keysler, and others who have written particularly of Northern Antiquities.

cing on it a twisted or woven wreath of the humble-growing lotus.

Πρᾶται τοι στέφανον λωτῷ χαμαὶ αὐξομένῳ,
Πλέξασαι, σειρὰν καταθήσουσιν ἐς πλατάνιστον. (Id. xviii. 43.)

And Ovid's mention (Metam. Lib. viii. 689) of the wreaths hanging from a sacred tree, and the addition of recent offerings;

———"equidem pendentia vidi
"Serta super ramos; ponensque recentia dixi," &c.

And his story of Eresicthon, (Metam. Lib. viii). who impiously violated the ancient woods of Ceres, cutting down her sacred oak, which was in itself equal to a grove, and hung round with garlands, fillets and other votive offerings.

"Ille etiam Cereale nemus violasse securi
"Dicitur, et lucos ferro temerasse vetustos.
"Stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus,
"Una, nemus; vittæ mediam, memoresque tabellæ,"
"Sertaque cingebent; voti argumenta potentis."

And those lines in which Statius (Theb. Lib. II. 736, &c.) records a vow, promising that an hundred virgins of Calydon, who ministered at the altars, should fasten to the consecrated tree, chaplets or fillets, white and purple interwoven—

"Centum ibi virgineis votæ Calydonides aris
"Actæas tibi rite faces, et ab arbore casta
"Nectant purpureas niveo discrimine vittas."

And the same Poet's account (Theb. Lib. IX. 585,) of the celebrated Arcadian oak, sacred to Diana, but itself adored as a Divinity, and so loaded with rustick offerings that "there was scarcely room for the branches."

"Nota per Arcadias felici robore sylvas
"Quercus erat, Triviæ quam desecraverat ipsa
"Ejectam turba nemorum, numenque colendum
"Fecerat—
"Vix ramis locus," &c.

I must also notice the *veternosis in arboribus tæniis* of Arnobius (Contr. Gent. Lib. I), and that *arbor vittata*, of Prudentius (Contra Symmachum, Lib. II); the sacred tree bedecked with fillets or garlands.

These quotations are sufficient for my present purpose; and I reluctantly quit the classick shades of Greece and Italy, to pass with rapid step over Egypt, that land so fertile in idolatrous superstitions, where it appears that trees were not without due honour. The Palm was there deemed sacred, according to Porphyry; and Herodotus mentions those palms that surrounded the temple of Perseus, (Lib. II. cap. 91); the *grove of immense trees* (ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων), and the *trees reaching to heaven*, (δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα) about the temple of Bubastis or Diana, (Lib. II. c. 138); and those at the great temple of Apollo, (Lib. II. c. 156). We may believe that a "sacred mul-"berry-tree" gave its name, *Hiera Sycaminos* (Ἱερὰ Συκάμινος)

to a town or station near the river Nile(55); and a very ancient monument delineated by Norden, (Travels in Egypt, Plate LVIII), exhibits a tree respecting which the conjectures hitherto offered, do not appear to me satisfactory. But this subject, by no means uninteresting, may be resumed on some other occasion.

I now hasten to those countries more properly called Oriental, and discover among the Pagan Arabs of early ages, a tree worshipped by certain tribes as an idol, under the name of *Aluzza* or *Alozza* (العزى), according to original authority, cited by the learned Pococke(56); and I am enabled to add another from the manuscript Chronicle, composed in the ninth century by Tabri. This historian informs us that the people of *Najrán* (نجران in *Yemen* يمن or Arabia Felix) had been idolaters, like all the neighbouring tribes, until a remarkable event induced them to embrace Christianity. "And they had," says he, "out-side the city, a date-tree of considerable base; and "every year, on a certain day, they held a solemn festival; "and on that day all the people assembled round the

(55) Hiera Syaminos, fifty four miles above Syene. "A Syene Hieran Syaminon "LIIII. M. pass." according to Pliny. Nat. Hist. Lib. VI. c. 29. See it also in Ptolemy's Geogr. Lib. IV. c. 5. and in the Peutingerian or Theodosian tables, Segm. VI.

(56) Specim. Hist. Arab. in notis p. 90. (Oxon. 1650). It was the Egyptian thorn, or acacia. See Sale's Prelim. Disc. to his translation of the Korán, p. 23. (Oct. ed. 1795).

"tree, and they covered it with garments of rich em-
"broidery, and brought all their idols under it; and
"they went in ceremonious procession about that tree;
"and offered up prayers; and an evil spirit or Devil
"spoke to them from the midst of it, and they having
"paid reverence to that tree, returned"(57). It afterwards happened, continues the historian, that a man of Syria, named KAIMU'N (قيمون) a descendant from the Apostles of Jesus, came into Arabia, fell among thieves, was taken and sold as a slave in the land of *Najrán*. Here his master surprised him at midnight, reading the Gospel by a ray of celestial light, which illuminated the whole house; and KAIMU'N soon after, through divine assistance, caused the tree which had been worshipped as a divinity, to "come forth, root and branch, from the earth," (ان درخت از زمين برامد ازين و بيخ); such a miracle effected an instantaneous conversion of the people, who destroyed all their idols and became zealous disciples of Jesus.

Whatever circumstances in this anecdote may appear marvellous, there is little reason to doubt that a tree was once among the objects of idolatrous veneration at

(57) و مر ايشانرا از برون شهر درختي بود خرما بني بزرگ و هر سالي يک روز ايشانرا جشني بودي و آن روز همه خلق کرد آن درخت شدندي ، جامها پوشيدندي مران درخت را از ديبا و همه بتانرا زير ان درخت اوردندي و کرد ان درخت اندر طواف کردندي و دعا مي کردندي و ديوي از ميان لن درخت بايشان سخن گفتي و ايشان آن درخت را فرمان کردندي و باز کشتندي MS. *Tárikh i Tabri.*

Najrán; and, as we learn from authentick history, the people of that place were cruelly persecuted for their adherence to Christianity, by DHU' NAWA'S (ذو نواس), also named YUSEF (يوسف Joseph), a prince of the Jewish religion, who reigned in the sixth century; about seventy years before MOHAMMED(28). That the ancient Arabians practised Pagan rites, we learn from ZAKARIA CAZWI'NI, who wrote in the thirteenth century. They observed, says he, at first, the religion of Abraham, but afterwards sunk into gross idolatry; "some worshipping a stone, and some "a tree"(29). He then relates the story of that tree-idol, *Alluzza*, above-mentioned, with a slight variation of circumstances, not claiming particular notice.

From Arabia we advance directly into Persia, that country wherein some trees distinguished by the title of *diraklıt i fázel*, (which shall be hereafter explained), first suggested to me the subject of this article. Here, then, concerning the religious veneration paid to trees, my present enquiry must be, geographically, limited, although

(28) See Pococke's "Specim. Hist. Arab." p. 62. (1650). "Ludolfi Hist. Æthiop." (Lib. II. c. 4). Maraci Alcoran in Sur. 85, (Tom. II. p. 792). D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. (art. Abou Navas). Sale's Korán, (note on chap. 85, and Prelim. Disc. sect. I). Ludolfus, as above-quoted, styles DUNAVAS. "iste ultimus Saba-"orum (qui postea Homeritæ dicti sunt), Rex, sectâ Judæus." *Najrán* appears to be the Νάγρα Μητροπολις of Ptolemy, (Lib. VI. c. 7).

(29) بعضي سنكي مى پرستندي و بعضي درختي
MS. *Ajáeb al Mekhlucát*. (Chap. on the religion and manners of the Arabs).

I might pursue it with success, through India, and more distant regions.

Those trees and bushes which the modern Persians regard with particular respect, have been noticed by many European travellers besides myself. Mr. Morier, one of the most recent and ingenious, observes in the account of his "Journey" (Vol. I. p. 230), that according to superstitious belief, the rags deposited on certain bushes by persons suffering from diseases, and taken thence by other patients, who in turn substitute their own, prove an infallible remedy. And in his second Volume (p. 239) he mentions the tomb of some Persian Saint; and growing close to it, a small bush on which were fastened various rags and shreds of garments; these, as was generally fancied, had acquired from their vicinity to the Saint, virtues peculiarly efficacious against sickness.

In the seventeenth century, it was remarked by Chardin at *Ispahán*, that the religious Mohammedans chose rather to pray under a very old tree, than in the neighbouring Mosque. They devoutly reverence, says he, those trees which seem to have existed during many ages, piously believing that the holy men of former times had prayed and meditated under their shade. (Voyages, Tome VIII. p. 99. Rouen, 1723). He noticed, also at *Ispahán*, a large and ancient Plane, all bristling with

nails and points, and hung with rags, as votive offerings from *Dervishes*, who, like monks of the Latin church, were professed mendicants, and came under this tree to perform their devotions(60). He next describes another Plane, said to be in his time above one thousand years old; it was black with age, and preserved with extreme care. This attention, adds he, arises form a superstitious respect entertained by the Persians for those ancient trees already mentioned. They call them *Dracte fasel*, or "*the* "*excellent trees;*" venerating them as having been miraculously preserved by God so many years, because they had afforded shade and shelter to his faithful servants, the *Dervishes* and others professing a religious life(61). Another Plane, one of *these excellent trees*, held in veneration, to which the devout resorted, is then described by this celebrated traveller (Tome VIII. p. 187). One, also, at *Shíráz*, to which they tied chaplets, amulets and pieces of their garments; while the sick, (or some friends for them) burned incense, fastened small lighted tapers to the

(60) "Un grand et vieux Platane tout herissé de clouds et de pointes, où les Der-"viches qui sont des mendians de profession comme les Moines de l'eglise Latine, "viennent faire leurs dévotions, et peudre des guenilles par veu. (Tome VIII. p. 109).

(61) "La raison qu'on a eu de conserver dans cet edifice ce vieux arbre-la, vient "d une superstition que les Persans ont pour les vieux arbres, de laquelle j'ai deja "touché un mot. Ils les appellent *Dracte fasels*, c'est à dire *des arbres excellens*, "et ils les reverent comme etant conservez de Dieu miraculeusement durant tant "d'années, parce qu'ils ont donné l'ombre et le couvert a ses fideles serviteurs, comme "les Dervishes et les autres gens devouez a la religion." (Tome VIII. p. 188).

tree, and practised other superstitions in hopes of thereby restoring health. Throughout all Persia, adds Chardin, these *Dracté fasels* are venerated by the multitude, and they appear all stuck over with nails *(tout lardez de clouds)* used in fixing on them shreds of clothes and other votive offerings. Under their shade the pious love to repose whole nights, fancying that they behold resplendent lights, the souls of *Aoulia* (اولیا) or blessed Saints; who had, under the same trees, performed their devotions. To those spirits, persons afflicted with tedious maladies devote themselves: and if they recover, the cure is attributed to their influence, and proclaimed a miracle. (Tome IX. p. 181).

Contemporary with Chardin, the ingenious Missionary, Father Angelo, who resided many years in Persia, speaks of the Plane-trees reverenced there as Divinities, with superstitious worship, on account of their great age(67).

Pietro della Valle, in 1622, celebrated the great Cypress of *Pássa*, anciently Pasagarda according to the general

(67) "Vi sono platani nella Persia riveriti con culto superstizioso *(comme des "Divinitez* in the French column) per loro antiquità." Gazophyl. Ling. Pers. (art. Platano-φ. 293). The Persian column, (not always a literal interpreter of the Italian, Latin or French) informs us that "certain *Chenár-trees* may be seen in *Irán* which "the people superstitiously respect, as representatives or supplying the place of "*Imáms* and *Pirs* or holy heads of the church, and pious elders."

بعضي چنار توان دید در ایران که خلایق بجاي امام و پیر حسبب وسوسه دارند

opinion; and, nearly two hundred years after, I beheld this beautiful tree with admiration equal to that expressed by the Italian traveller. He mentions that it was regarded with devotion by the Mohammedans; that tapers were often lighted in the capacious hollow of its trunk, "as in a place worthy of veneration; the people res-"pecting large and ancient trees, supposing them to be "frequently the receptacles of blessed souls; and calling "them, on that account, *Pir* (پیر) or "aged," a name "equivalent to the Arabick *Sheikh* (شیخ); also *Imám* (امام) "signifying a priest or pontiff; so they entitle those of "their sect whom they absurdly imagine to have died in "odour of sanctity. Therefore, when they say that such "a tree or such a place is a *Pir*, they mean that the "soul of some holy elder or venerable personage whom "they falsely believe blessed, delights to reside in that "tree or to frequent that spot"(63). This most excellent traveller then observes that the veneration paid to trees, may be considered as a remnant of ancient paganism, and he aptly quotes these lines from Virgil; (Æn. II. 715).

(63) "Come in luogo venerabile; havendo essi per costume di haver in veneratione gli alberi grandi & antichi, quasi che siano spesso ricettacole di anime beate; per lo che gli chiamano anche in Persiano *Pir*, che vuol dir Vecchio, overo in Arabico *Scerck*, che pur Vecchio significa, e così anche *Imám*, che vuol dir Sacerdote o Pontefice; perche con tutti nomi sogliono chiamare alcuni della lor setta, morti fra di loro con pazza opinion di santita. Onde, dicendo, che il tale albero, ò il tal luogo è *Pir*, vogliono inferire, che vi habita, è che per diletto vi si trattiene ta' hora l'anima di qualche *Pir*, cioe di qualche persona, al falso lor credere, beata." Viaggi, (Lett. 16. di *Luglio*, 1622).

——"*Juxtaque antiqua cupressus,*
"*Religione patrum multos servata per annos;*"

remarking also the Jewish corruption with respect to this branch of Idolatry.

Barbaro, who went as Envoy from Venice about the year 1471, (two centuries before Chardin and Angelo) observed, during his journey through Persia, some thorn-bushes, to which were attached vast numbers of old rags and scraps of garments, efficacious, as it was supposed, in banishing fevers and other disorders(64).

Whatever suspicion may be excited by this practice, it is certain that the Mohammedans shudder at any imputation of Idolatry, and fancy that in their addresses or offerings to those trees, they only invoke the true GOD, the great Creator. This will appear from an anecdote related by SAADI, who was born in the twelfth, and lived during most part of the thirteenth century, eminent among Persian poets and philosophers. It occurs in the sixth chapter of his *Gulistán*, or Rose-garden, a work which has been published in various European languages, and so well translated into English by Mr. Gladwin, that I shall

(64) "Incidi interdum in spinarum arbustum cui ingentem segminum et scrutorum "adhærere copiam vidi; per quæ hoc illi intelligi volunt; quasi febrem et morbo-"rum alia symptomata arceant." Jos. Barbari Itiner. in Pers. I quote the Latin version published by Bizarus, at the end of his "Rerum Persicarum Hist." p. 469.

borrow his words upon this occasion, as it would be unnecessary and presumptuous to substitute my own. "In "the territory of *Diarbekr* I was the guest of a very rich "old man, who had a handsome son. One night he "said, "during my whole life I never had but this son. "Near this place is a sacred tree, to which men resort "to offer up their petitions. Many nights at the foot "of this tree I besought God, until he bestowed on me "this son." I heard that the son was saying to his "friends in a low tone of voice, "how happy should "I be to know where that tree grows, in order that I "might implore God for the death of my father!"(63)

(63) Of SAADI's *Gulistán* (گلستان) the Persian text was published with a Latin version by Gentius under the title of "Rosarium Politicum," (Amst. 1651, folio; and in duodecimo, 1655; there is also, I believe, a third edition). It was printed at Calcutta in 1791, folio, (among the other works of SAADI); and in a distinct quarto volume, with Mr. Gladwin's *English* translation, likewise at Calcutta, in 1806, and reprinted soon after in London, (octavo). His quarto edition, (p. 244), has furnished the passage above quoted. But the text is here taken from one of two fine Manuscript copies which I procured at *Shirâz*, the birth-place of SAADI himself.

مهمان پیري بودم در دیار بعلبک که مال فراوان داشت و فرزندي خوبروي شیري
حکایت میکرد که مرا در همهٔ عمر خویش جز این فرزند نبود درختي درین وادي
هست زیارتگاه که مردمان للحاجت خواستن انجا روند شبهاي دراز در پاي ان درخت
تحق نالیده ام تا مرا این فرزند کرامت کرده شنیدم که پسر با رفیقان اهسته میگفت
چه بودي که من ان درختررا بدانستمي که در کجاست تا دعا کردمي تا پدرم بمردي.

In these lines the reader will perceive, besides many variations not materially affecting the sense, (such as *dirâz* inserted after *shebhâi*, many *long* nights, &c.) the name of *Baalbek* instead of *Diarbekr*, as in Mr. Gladwin's text. Another MS. of my collection reads (مکه) *Meccah*. I must here remark that SAADI styles the tree

It seems probable that the early *Muselmáns* who invaded *Irán* or Persia in the seventh century, found this invocation of trees established there from ages long elapsed; and that they soon adopted the popular superstition, (if, indeed, some practices of the same or of a similar nature, were not already frequent among themselves), reconciling it to their own faith, by addressing the Almighty, or, as we have above seen, the intermediatory spirits of saints. By the ancient Persians, especially those who professed Magism as reformed according to ZERA'TUSHT or Zoroaster, image-worship and other forms of gross idolatry, were held in as much abhorrence as afterwards by the *Muselmáns* themselves; and they contemplated the Sun and its representative, material Fire, with veneration, merely as bright symbols of the sole, invisible God. Yet in some of those sacred books, which their descendants, the *Gabrs* and *Parsís* attribute to ZERA'TUSHT himself, (but which we may reasonably suppose compiled, in the third century, from fragments of ancient manuscripts and from traditions); it appears that trees were invoked as *pure* and *holy*; and that a form of prayer *(izeshné)* was particularly addressed to the *Feroüers*, or spirits of saints through whose influence the trees grew up in purity;

ziáret-gáh, denoting a place (or object) of religious visitation and pilgrimage. There is not probably any Persian work of which so many transcripts have been made as of the *Gulistán*; I do not even except the *Díván* of *Háfiz*.

and which, placed above those trees as on a throne, were occupied in blessing them(66).

From want of a more expressive term, I have called the *Feroüers*, "spirits;" but it is not easy to describe by one word those imaginary creatures; for, at first, they existed singly; were then united to the beings which they represent, forming, as it would seem, part of their very souls; there are *Feroüers* of persons not yet born; although properly united only with rational beings, yet they are assigned to water and to trees; ("les saints Feroüers de "l'eau et des arbres." Zendav. II. p. 284). Some are described as females; all are immortal and powerful, but beneficent: pleased with offerings, they protect their votaries, and are prompt in carrying up the petitions of those who invoke them to the mighty ORMUZD(67).

(66) Je prie les arbres purs et saints." See the *Vendidad Sadi*, Farg. xix, as translated by Anquetil du Perron, in the "Zendavesta," Tome I. part. 2. p. 416. See also p. 96, and Tome II. p. 21. p. 318, and in many other places. My very high opinion of M. Anquetil's learning and ingenuity has been already sufficiently expressed (See p. 145). Of his scrupulous fidelity as a translator, I am perfectly convinced, having compared several passages in the French *Zendavesta* with the original, of which various parts, both *Zend* and *Pahlavi*, are among my own manuscripts. Respecting the *Feroüers* on trees, See Zendav. Tome II. p. 257, where we read "Je fais "invocation aux purs, forts, et excellens *Feroüers* des Saints; qui montrent aux arbres "crûs a croître purement; qui placés au dessus les arbres donnés en abondance, "(comme) sur un trône, sont occupés à les benir," &c.

(67) Zendav. Tome I. part. 2. p. 83. 247. Tome II. p. 250. 260. 286, and many other pages which the copious *Table des Matières* will sufficiently indicate. We may perhaps discover, in some respects, a resemblance between the *Demons* and *Genii*

Here we find the supposed agency of preternatural beings, intermediate between man and his Creator; and to this I would ascribe an act of the great Xerxes which is represented as extraordinary and even ridiculous; but of which, in my opinion, the motive has not been rightly understood. To Xerxes I alluded (in p. 314) as that Persian King, who, almost five centuries before our era, although he may have worshipped God under the symbol of Fire or of the Sun, appears as if willing to propitiate some invisible superhuman power, by offerings suspended from the branches of a tree, in which he believed it resident.

The anecdote is first related by Herodotus, and in such a manner as leaves but little doubt (with me at least) of its authenticity. The fact which it records I hope to prove conformable with Persian usage and opinion. But many circumstances are related of Xerxes by the Greek writers, which can scarcely be reconciled

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of classical antiquity and the Persian *Feroüers*, attached to men. Those of the *Trees* (if females) might represent the ancient *Dryads* or *Hamadryads*; some of these nymphs, however, were not immortal, like the *Feroüers*, but perished whenever time or violence destroyed those trees with which they had been created and associated. Thus certain nymphs of fir-trees and oaks mentioned by Homer (Hymn. in Venerem, 265); Τῶν δ' αμ' η ελάται τε δρύες ὑψικάρηνοι &c.
and the reader will recollect the words of Ausonius, (Edyll. XII. 75).

"Non sine Hamadryadis fato, cadit arborea trabs,"

and the groans, even the blood of that Nymph destroyed by Erisichthon in an oak. (Ovid. Met. viii.)

"Nympha sub hoc ego sum, Ceteri gratissima, ligno."

to probability(68). Xerxes, according to that venerable historian above-named, having come from Phrygia into Lydia, arrived at a place where the road branched off, leading on the left towards Caria, on the right to Sardis. Those who travel by this road, says he, must necessarily cross the river Mœander, and pass the city of Callatébos, wherein dwell "confectioners who compose sweetmeats of "tamarisk-honey and wheat. Xerxes, proceeding on this "road, found a plane-tree, which on account of its "beauty, he decorated with golden ornaments; and "leaving to guard it one of his troops, called the "Immortals, advanced, on the next day, to (Sardis) the "chief city of the Lydians"(69).

(68) On this subject, Lord Royston in a note to his excellent translation of Lycophron's Cassandra, says that the Greeks are particularly fond of dwelling upon the "story of Xerxes building a bridge across the Hellespont and sailing through Mount "Athos; but not a vestige remains of the canal he is said to have cut there; and "the account does not seem to have been believed in the days of Juvenal:

"Velificatus Athos; et quicquid Græcia mendax
"Audet in historia"——Juv. (Sat. x. 173).

Lord Royston's translation was printed in the Classical Journal, of which No. XXVII. (p. 52), contains the note here quoted.

(69) Ἐν τῇ (Καλλατέβῳ) ἀνδρες ἐμπεφύρκασι μυρίκῃσι τε καὶ τυρῷ μάλα πυκνοῖσι. ταύτην ὧν ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ἐὸν, ἅτε πλατανίστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα, ἐκόσμησε κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ, καὶ φυλάκῳ ἀθανάτων ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας, ἔνθεν ἤμερη ἀπίκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ. Herod. Lib. VII. c. 31. The Greek text (respecting *honey*), with which this quotation commences, has presented some difficulty; for Larcher notices the conjecture of M. de Mézériac (Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lett. Tome IX.), who supposed that it alluded to natural honey collected on shrubs and mixed into a certain composition, ("un miel naturel qu'on recueilloit sur des arbustes, et avec lequel les habitans de ce pays faisoient une certaine composition.") M. Larcher affirms that

This anecdote is related with an amplification of circumstances, and his own comments, by Ælian, who ridicules the Persian Monarch because, having undertaken a very important expedition, he pitched his camp and delayed a whole day in a desert of Lydia, that he might pay homage to a great plane-tree, on the branches of which he hung rich garments, bracelets, and other precious ornaments; and left a person to guard it, as if the tree had been a beloved mistress; such is the sum of Ælian's words below quoted(79). He does not impute this act of Xerxes (although it wore a semblance of worship) to any religious or superstitious motive; but to an absurd admiration of the tree, an inanimate

this is not the sense, and that δημιοεργοί signifies those confectioners who understood the art of extracting honey from the tamarisk and from corn. "Ce n'est point le "sens; δημιοεργοι sont des confiseurs qui avoient le talent d'extraire du miel "du tamaris et du bled," and he declares his opinion that it was an artificial honey and not natural. (See the notes to his translation of Herodotus, Tome V. p. 204. edit. 1802). With the utmost respect for this learned French critick, I have ventured to interpret the passage in a manner that favours M. de Méziriac's conjecture: for Herodotus seems to describe very exactly that sweetmeat so much in use among the modern Persians; composed of wheat-flour kneaded into a thick paste with *gaz-angabin*, a kind of honey (*angabin* انگبین) found on the *gaz* (گز) or tamarisk-tree. This sweetmeat was placed before the guests at almost every entertainment of which I partook in Persia.

(79) Γλαυκος ἐκεινος ὁ Ξέρξης ἦν εἰγε θαλάσσης μεν και γης κατεφρόνει της διὰ τέχνης, ταυτα δὲ εἰργάζετο καινὰς οδοὺς και πλουν αἰῶρη διεζεύγνυτο δὲ πλατάνῳ και ἐξαίρματα τὸ δένδρον. Ἐν Λυδία γουν, φασὶν, ἰδὼν φυτον ευμέγεθες πλατάνου, και την ἡμέραν ἐκεινην κατέμεινεν, οὐδεν τι δεόμενος, και ἐχρύσατο αὐτῷ τῃ ἑρμαία, τῃ περὶ την πλάτανον ἀλλα και ἐζωσεν αὐτῃ κόσμον πολυτελῆ, στρεπτους και ψελλίους τινων τοιουτων κλάδους, και μελεδωνον αὐτῃ κατελιπεν, ὡσπερ ἐρωμένῃ φύλακα και φρουρόν. Ἐκ δὲ τουτων τί τῳ δένδρῳ καλὸν ἀνήρτησεν, &c. Var. Hist. Lib. II. c. 14.

object, on which from its very nature, says he, neither the gold nor splendid garments, nor the other gifts of that Barbarian could confer any benefit or additional beauty(71).

To the same story Ælian alludes again, in a chapter recording instances of strange and ridiculous love; and it is noticed by Eustathius in his commentary on Homer(72).

But these Greek writers could scarcely have suspected the true motive of Xerxes in this act, since Herodotus, the very historian by whom it was first related, had described the Persian religion as incompatible with what would appear a kind of idolatry. Yet the reader has, perhaps, already seen enough to convince him that Xerxes, while he affixed his jewels and garments on the plane-tree, was engaged in solemn invocation; soliciting, on the eve of an important military enterprise, the Almighty's favour through the intercession of some imaginary power.

That such is a just interpretation of the circumstance will further appear, when we consider, that it is not merely in case of sickness, (though a very frequent

(71) Χλαμύδες δὲ αἱ Ξέρξου, καὶ χρυσὸς ὁ τοῦ βαρβάρου, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δῶρα, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν πλάτανον, οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλο δένδρον συνῆγεν τι. Ælian. ibid.

(72) See Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. IX. cap 39. (Περὶ γελοίων καὶ παραδόξων ἐρώτων), and Eustath. in Iliad. B. (v. 307), "διὰ καιρὸν Ξέρξην πλάτανον σέβειν ἐρασθῆναι, &c.

occasion) that the present *Muselmán* Persians, (no less averse from gross idolatry than their early predecessors) invoke the spirits supposed to dwell in certain trees, by hanging on the branches pieces torn from their garments; but, as I have learned from several among them, on every undertaking which they deem of magnitude; such as a commercial or matrimonial speculation; the building of a new house; or a long journey; and, as almost six hundred years ago, when SAADI wrote his work above-quoted (p. 377), offerings are daily made by votaries desirous of having children.

On this subject an anecdote was told by a person at *Shiráz*, from whom I sought information respecting some trees and bushes covered with old rags, in the vale of *Abdúi* and other places. He assured me that about two years before the arrival of our Embassy at *Bushehr*, a merchant, lately married to a beautiful girl, but who had not yet given him reason to expect the blessing of an heir, was travelling with her; and finding a pleasant spot, halted there awhile; the sun's excessive heat induced him to seek shelter; he perceived, at a little distance from the road, some ancient walls among which grew a shady and handsome tree. To this he retired with his young wife, leaving the mules or horses in a servant's care. The tree, from its situation, had, until that time, escaped the notice of most passengers,

and did not exhibit on its branches even one votive offering; but the Merchant, whose fondest wish was to obtain a son, fastened on it a shred torn from his clothes, and the united vows of himself and his fair companion, were crowned with success before the expiration of a year. This circumstance being known, (although some would, perhaps, think the event possible without any preternatural agency) was ascribed to the tree's efficacious influence; and within another year the branches were covered with several hundred rags, by as many votaries; not all, however, acting from the same motive. Rags are the usual offerings made at present, those most addicted to this superstition being generally of the low and poor classes. Things more valuable would, I fear, require a guard, as in the time of Xerxes.

Many an aged bush has been exalted into a *dirakht i fázel* (درخت فاضل) from the fancied appearance of fire glowing in the midst of it, and then suddenly vanishing; this name, as we have above seen, implies, according to Chardin, "the excellent tree;" and is bestowed, as my own observation proved, on every bush or tree that exhibits votive offerings, without regard to size or species, age, beauty, or situation. Where trees are generally scarce, the votary must not be fastidious in selection; *Dirakht i fázels*, are found near tombs containing the bodies of supposed Saints, or *Imámzádehs*; but I have

as frequently observed them in desert places where it could not be imagined that they derived any virtue from such sacred relicks.

But as the Villagers in their rustick dialect, give the name of *fázel*, (still perhaps retaining its sense as the epithet *excellent*) to certain preternatural beings, so *dirakht i fázel* would express the "tree of the genii." This circumstance I learn from a note written at my request, after some conversation on the subject, by MI'RZA MOHAMMED SA'LEH (میرزا محمد صالح) of *Shiráz*, a very ingenious and well-informed young man of letters(73). And that preternatural beings were supposed to frequent a certain tree, I learn from an author of the twelfth century, quoted by HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI. He relates that among the wonders of *Azerbaiján* (or Media), "there is, at the "foot of Mount *Sabalán*, a tree, about which grows "much herbage; but neither is this, nor the fruit of "that tree ever eaten by beasts or birds; as they dislike "it; for to eat of it is to die. This, as tradition reports, "is the residence of *jinn* or *genii*"(74).

(73) "In the dialect of villagers and country people," says he, "the *jinn* (or *genii*) are called *fázel*." فاضل باصطلاح اهل دهات جن را میگویند

(74) در پاي کوه سبلن درختیست در ان حوالي کیاه بسیار رسته اما هیچ جانور و مرغ کیاه را نمیخوزه و ثمره انرا رغبت نمیکند چه خوردن و مردن یکیست. و کفته اند که همانا مقام جن باشد MS. *Nozhat al Colúb*. (Geogr. Sect.

A tree called in pure Persian *Díb-dár*, *Díw-dár*, and *Díw-dárú*, which we may literally translate the "Demon-"tree," bears also, in Arabick, a name nearly equivalent, *Shejeret al jinn* (شجرة الجن) or "Tree of the Genii;" and even *Shejeret Allah* (شجرة الله) or "God's Tree," according to a manuscript which I have often consulted in the course of this work, and which describes the tree as resembling the *Káj* (کاج) or *Senúber Hindi* (صنوبر هندي) a wild pine or Indian fir; or, as some say a kind of *Sarv* (سرو) or Cypress(75).

Having mentioned the Cypress, I should be induced, did not my present limits forbid me, to extract from the same manuscript a long passage concerning two trees of high celebrity among the Magians; for the young plants had been brought from Paradise by ZERA'TUSHT or Zoroaster himself, who in an auspicious hour planted one at *Káshmar*, and the other at *Fármad*. But after they had flourished one thousand four hundred and fifty years, the Arabian *Khálífah*, MOTAWAKEL (who reigned in the ninth century), commanded TA'HER BEN ABDALLAH,

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Appendix). HAMDALLAH quotes the author of the *Tárikh i Maghreb* (تاريخ مغرب) who, from a preceding extract, appears to have visited *Aderbeigán*, in 622, (of our era 1128).

(75). See the MS. Dict. *Berhán Kattea*, in ديودار, ديبدار; and ديودارو I have already remarked (p. 43) that *dár* دار in *Pahlavi*, as دار (*dér*) in modern Persian, signifies "a tree," generally.

the governor of *Khorásán*, to cut them down, and send both their trunks and branches to *Baghdád*, near which city he was constructing a palace. With such veneration were these ancient Cypresses regarded by the Magians, that they offered, but in vain, fifty thousand *dinárs* or pieces of gold coin, to save them from the fatal axe. At the moment of their fall, an earthquake spread consternation through the surrounding territory. Such was their immense size, that they afforded shade, at once, to above two thousand cows or oxen, and sheep; with the branches alone, thirteen hundred camels were loaded, and in transporting the huge trunks on rollers to *Baghdád*, five hundred thousand *direms*, (pieces of silver coin) were expended. But on the very night that they reached the stage next to MOTAWAKEL's new edifice, this *Khálifah* was assassinated by his servants(76).

The wonderful cypress of Zoroaster is celebrated by FIRDAUSI; and the cypress of *Kashmar* by HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI; with a difference in some circumstances which

(76) See the MS. Dict. *Berhán Kattea* in the words كاشمر (*Káshmar*) and كشمر (*Kishmar*), for so is written the name of a place in Persia (near *Tarshíz* ترشيز in *Kherasán*) which must not be confounded with the Indian province of *Kashmir* or *Cashmere*. *Farmad* (فرمد) above mentioned, is also in *Khorásán*, near *Tús*, (طوس). The assassination of MOTAWAKEL happened on the tenth of December in the year of our era 861; and not without a strong suspicion that his own son concurred in the atrocious deed. This appears from Major Price's very excellent "Retrospect "of Mahommedan History," (Vol. II. p. 155). I find that latterly *Farmad* (فرمد) is written *Fármad* (فارمد).

I shall not here endeavour to reconcile(77). Other anecdotes on this subject are recorded elsewhere, reminding us of that extraordinary, triple tree, planted by the Patriarch Abrahaṁ, and existing until the death of Christ, (about nineteen hundred years), according to a Greek manuscript preserved in the library of Augsburg, and quoted by Jacobus Gretser, in his work "De Sancta "Cruce," (Lib. 1).

We thus find, that in various countries, a divine or illustrious origin was assigned to many trees of considerable antiquity, and that some were respected as memorials of distinguished personages or remarkable events. In Greece, the Trœzenians shewed a wild-olive, which had taken root and grown from the club of Hercules; it still existed in the second century, when Pausanias composed his delightful account of Greece(78). This writer enumerates many other memorable trees remaining in his own time, besides that large and beautiful plane, called *Menelaïs*, having been planted (at Caphya) by Menelaus, when engaged in military preparations for the siege of Troy(79),

(77) See the MS. *Shâhnâmah*, (Hist. of King GUSHTASP); and the MS. *Nozhat al Colûb*, (Geogr. section, chap. xvi. in the account of *Tarshîz*).

(78) Καὶ ἐστιν ὁ κότινος πέφυκε ἔτι. Paus. Corinth. cap. 31.

(79) Πλάτανος μεγάλη καὶ εὐειδὴς πέφυκε, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Μενελαΐδα. Paus. Arcad. c. 23. He immediately after mentions four trees of greater age; yet between the Siege of Troy and the time of Pausanias, thirteen centuries must have elapsed.

or by his brother Agamemnon, "the king of men," if we prefer the tradition noticed in Pliny's natural history(80), where several trees of immense age are celebrated; such as the two oaks planted by Hercules, in Pontus: three holly-trees, planted by Tiburtus at Tibur, before the Trojan war; and the wild-olive at Olympia, which furnished the first crown for Hercules; this tree was preserved with religious care in the days of Pliny(81).

(80) "According to which Agamemnon planted both this and the Delphick plane; "Sunt auctores et Delphicam platanum Agamemnonis manu satam; et alteram in "Caphyis Arcadiæ lyco." (Lib. xvi. c. 44). I must here remark a fact, recorded by Pliny (as above quoted) and resembling that imputed to Xerxes as an absurdity. The consul Passienus Crispus so loved a certain tree, that he was accustomed to kiss and embrace it, to lay himself down under it, and to besprinkle it with wine. The kisses and embraces might have authorized Ælian to give the Roman Consul a place in his chapter "on strange and ridiculous loves." (Lib. ix. c. 39). But to recline under the shade of a beautiful tree seems perfectly natural; and perhaps we may discover in the libation or affusion with wine, something of a religious ceremony; for it appears that the tree stood in an ancient grove consecrated to Diana; and we know that wine was sprinkled on trees in the early ages, as still in some parts of France. I shall quote on this subject a distinguished female writer. "L'usage d'arroser avec "du vin les arbres, est de toute antiquité; et j'ai vu cet usage subsister encore en "France dans l'ancienne ceremonie de la *plantation du Mai*. Les Grecs et les Romains, "dit M. de Bomare, faisoient tant de cas du Platane, qu'ils l'arrosoient avec du vin; "ils observoient la même chose pour les arbres sacrés." (See Madame Genlis's "Chevaliers du Cygne, ou la cour de Charlemagne," Tome 1. Note G).

(81) "Olympiæ oleaster ex quo primus Hercules coronatus est, et nunc custoditur "religiosè." (Plin. ibid). The apotheosis of Hercules is placed at ten years after his death, and fifteen before the capture of Troy, according to the ingenious M. Clavier; "Il reçut les honneurs de l'apotheose, dix ans après sa mort, et quinze avant la prise "de Troie." (Hist. des premiers temps de la Grèce. Tome I. p. 220. Paris, 1809). Troy was taken, says Archbishop Usher, 1184 years before Christ. Larcher allows 1203 years; Clavier not much more than 1100. Pliny died in the year 79 after Christ.

Near Cairo, at a fountain wherein the Virgin Mary washed her infant's clothes, "a lamp was, three centuries ago, "kept burning to her honour in the hollow of an old "fig-tree, which had served them for a place of shelter," according to the "Itinerario de Antonio Tenreiro;" (quoted in Mr. Southey's "Chronicle of the Cid." Notes, page 432); and Maundrell, who travelled in 1697, saw between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the famous turpentine-tree, in "the shade of which the Blessed Virgin is said to have "reposed, when she was carrying Christ in her arms &c(82). In the time of HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI (the fourteenth century) a dry or withered tree (درختي خشک) distinguished the grave of a holy man at *Bastám* (بسطام); this tree had once been MOHAMMED's staff; and was transmitted through many generations, until finally deposited in the grave of ABU' ABDALLAH DA'SITA'NI (ابو عبد الله داستاني) where it took root and put forth branches, like the club of Hercules to which I have above alluded. Those who injured this sacred tree perished on the same day; whether these miraculous circumstances should be attributed to the prophet or the saint, I am not qualified to determine(83). In the time of Plutarch, an aged

(82) See "A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem," p. 87, (Oxf. 1721). Many other trees rendered objects of veneration by similar circumstances might be here mentioned on the authority of different travellers.

(83) MS. *Nozhát al Colúb.* (Geogr. sect. Appendix).

tree still bore the title of "Alexander's oak"; and marked a spot rendered memorable by one of that hero's exploits. It stood near the river Cephisus, and not far from the burial-place of many valiant Macedonians(84). How old this tree may have been during Alexander's youth, does not appear; but it grew near Cheronæa where he signalized himself in battle 337 years before Christ; and Plutarch died in the year 119 after Christ. It may, however, have existed to a much later period(85).

Such a tree would claim veneration from an antiquary; but I now treat, rather, of those trees deemed sacred by the multitude; and several might be found, even at the present day, in most countries of the globe. I have before noticed some *Banyan* trees in India (See p. 76. 80). One of immense size, and traditionally said to be three thousand years old, still flourishes near the city of *Baroach*; and, according to a well-written account, is probably the same "which Arrian describes when speaking of the gymnosophists in his book of Indian

(84) Ἔτι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυτο παλαιὰ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου δρυς, &c. (Plut. in Alex).

(85) The scene of king William Rufus's death in the New Forest is still (or was within a few years) indicated by a tree. On this subject Mr. Gilpin says, (in his work on Forest Scenery); "They who think a tree insufficient to record a fact of "so ancient a date, may be reminded that seven hundred years (and it is no more "since the death of Rufus), make no extraordinary period in the age of an oak." William was killed in the year 1100.

"affairs"(86). Trees were among the chief divinities of India in former ages(87); and are now regarded with superstitious veneration by the people of that country, as numerous witnesses might be adduced to prove(88).

The *Bogaha*, or "God-tree," of Ceylon, has been noticed in p. 32. Every aged tree is regarded in the Phillipine islands as a kind of divinity, and those who should cut one down, would incur a charge of criminality, as we learn from the "Relation des Phillipines, par "un Religieux," in Thevenôt's Collection. We find the veneration of trees under various forms among the Siamese and Japonese; the Chinese and Tibetans; and this superstition prevails from the North-Eastern quarter of that mighty Asiatick Empire described by Strahlenberg, to its European frontiers, Westward(89).

(86) See the description of this surprising tree, (called at present the *Cubeer Burr*) quoted in Mr. Maurice's "Indian Antiquities," (Vol. III. p. 109); it refers to Arrian's "Hist. Ind." cap. XI.

(87) "Deos putant quidquid colere coeperant, arbores maxime quas violare capital est." (Quint. Curt. Lib. viii. c. 9). We find in the "Institutes of Menu," (Chap. III), a form of salutation addressed to "the Gods of large trees."

(88) Besides our early travellers and the "Asiatick Researches," see Moor's "Narrative of Capt. Little's Detachment," p. 212, and his "Hindu Pantheon." Lord Valentia's Travels, (Vol. II. p. 110. 4to). The "*Meghá Dúta* or Cloud-Messenger," translated from the Sanscrit by Mr. Wilson, (note on verse 153). Dubois on the people of India, p. 453; and many others.

(89) An ingenious writer having mentioned some Indian and Japonese symbols of the Divinity adds, "arboris truncum in cujus summitate sedet Supremus Creator

In Africa the modern *Muselmans* and Pagans seem equally inclined to distinguish particular trees as sacred objects. Every tribe of the *Galla* nation in Abyssinia worships avowedly as a God, the *Wanzey* tree; (See Bruce's Travels; Vol. II. p. 406. Dublin edit. 1791; and other parts). This is confirmed by Mr. Salt, who says, "a sort of Paganism is still kept up among these "barbarians, and the *Wanza* tree is held by them as "sacred." (Trav. in Abyssinia, p. 276). Mungo Park, (See his Travels in Africa, fifth edit. 8vo. Lond. 1807, p. 65), speaks of the large tree called *Neema Tuba*,

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"Deus. Aliud quiddam esset observatione dignum; sed ego *truncum arboris* "meditor," &c.—"At sive Japonenses, sive Indos, sive Tibetanos adeas, ubique "tibi occurret *virentis arboris* religio, ob symbola forsan creationis, et conser- "vationis rerum accepta, atque retenta." (Georg. Alphab. Tibetan. p. 142). See the *Prá si maka Pout*, or "excellent tree of the Great POUT;" in La Loubère's "Relat. de Siam." (Tome I). See also the small boxes of wood, or basket-work, the painted or gilded pieces of paper, the Chinese inscriptions on slips of wood, hung upon the branches of certain trees, "and many other indications of their sacred destination. "Trees in fact appear to have been among the first temples that were consecrated "to the deities." (Barrow's "Voyage to Cochinchina". p. 328). The *Jakuti*, a pagan nation of Eastern Siberia have their sacred trees on which they "hang all "manner of nick-nacks," and the *Ceremissi* or *Scheremissi*, bordering on the Wolga, pray "near great trees to which they pay honour;" hanging the hides and bones of cattle "about these their *holy-trees*, to rot by way of sacrifice to the air." (See Strahlenberg's "Descript. of Northern and Eastern Europe and Asia, p. 331. 354) We find in the same work (p. 87), nine different kinds of things carried as offerings to the "*Hayns* or *Idolatrous Groves*," and again (p. 289) the *Holy Groves*, of different Pagans under the Russian Government. See also Klaproth's Travels in Caucasus, &c. for the *Galberaktscha*, "more highly venerated than any other tree. It "is a tree of paradise, whose nature and fruits are accounted inestimable, incor- "ruptible, and divine," (p. 104. Engl. edition).

"decorated with innumerable rags or scraps of cloth;" and which "nobody now presumed to pass without "hanging up something." On the coasts of Southern Guinea, the inhabitants make offerings and pray to trees, more especially in time of sickness; from an expectation of thereby recovering their health, as Barbot informs us: (See Churchill's Collection of Voyages, &c. Vol. V. p. 344, ed. 1732). In a very different region of Afriea, (near Mogadore), Colonel Keatinge perceived a resemblance or rather identity, between the *Argali* (wild-olive) and the *Arayel* or sacred tree of the *Hindús;* and he noticed the offerings strung upon those *Argali;* "rags, potsherds, "and the like trash." Why such things are offered, or the origin of such a custom, no person attempts to explain; but, as the Colonel very truly observes, a "traveller "will see precisely the like in the West of Ireland, "and will receive an equally satisfactory account upon "the subject." (Travels in Europe and Africa, p. 186). This leads us immediately into Europe; although for the African as for the Asiatick veneration of trees, I might have added numerous authorities.

A multiplicity of extracts might, also, be here quoted to prove how long this superstition lingered among various nations of Europe, besides the Irish. I need scarcely premise that it was widely diffused in Pagan times throughout those nations. We have already seen it

among the Greeks and Romans. It flourished among the ancient Germans, as Tacitus and Agathias inform us; among the Scandinavians also, and different tribes of the North, according to their *Edda*, and other works. The Druids of the Celts, Gauls and Britons, it is unnecessary to mention. But after the introduction of Christianity, we find the worship of trees condemned, as a practice still existing, by the councils of Auxerre, of Nantes, and of Tours. It was also strongly forbidden by the laws of Canute(90). Many anecdotes are recorded of holy men who exerted themselves in efforts to abolish the superstition. Thus we read in the History of Saint Valeri, that this pious Abbot, having discovered the trunk of a large tree which the rustieks zealously worshipped with Pagan devotion, immediately directed that it should be destroyed(91). Notwithstanding such laudable exertions, we learn from Ditmar, an author of the eleventh century, that in his time the people of Ridegast, in Mecklembourg, revered a certain gloomy forest, and were afraid to touch the trees of which it was composed(92).

(90) "Ne quis adoret—alicujus generis arborum ligna," (See Wilkins's "Leg. "Angl. Sax." 134).

(91) Hinc in vita S. Waleriei Abbatis; *ad ripam autem fluminis truncus erat grandis eumque rustici superstitione gentili impensè venerabantur. Ubi id conspectus vir sanctus, &c.* Voss. de Idololatria. p. 772. Amst. 1700.

(92) "Une sombre forêt réverée par les habitans qui n'osent point toucher aux "arbres qui la composent." See the extract from Ditmar of Merzebourg, as given by Count Potocki in his "Voyage dans quelques parties de la Basse Saxe," p. 2. (Hamb. 1795).

Leonard Rubenus, late in the sixteenth century, found Livonia still infected with the idolatrous veneration of trees; for, passing through the sacred woods of the Esthonians, he perceived an immense pine, which the neighbouring people adored, loading its branches with pieces of old cloth, and expecting that any injury offered to it would be attended with some miraculous punishment. Rubenus, however, tells us that he cut on this pine the figure of a cross, and, lest the superstition should be thereby augmented, he afterwards marked on it the form of a gibbet, in contempt for the tree, regarded by those rustieks as their God; (See his work "De "Idololatria," Cap. XVIII. p. 66, which I quote on the authority of Bayle's "Dict. Histor." &c. art. Rubenus).

At a much later period this kind of idolatry existed among the same people. Abel Burja who visited them in 1777, mentions their sacred trees, and relates an anecdote which he heard at Petersburgh, from a Priest of Finland, whose father had likewise exercised the sacerdotal office in that country, where his parishoners, had long honoured a certain tree with religious homage. This worthy Pastor, having excited the good-humour of those peasants whom he treated with brandy, exhorted them to cut down the object of their superstitious worship; but they refused to touch it; fearing that on the first application of an axe they should be destroyed by a

thunder-bolt. Their pastor, however, struck it with impunity; encouraged by the brandy, they followed his example, and soon prostrated the ancient tree(23).

I am inclined to regard as monuments of this superstition in our own country, those trees, generally very old and often in a state of decay, under which the country-people still suppose that Fairies hold their nocturnal assemblies. Of such trees I have myself seen many, besides the venerable "Fairy Oak," at Downing in North-Wales, the seat of Mr. Pennant, by whom an engraved representation of it has been published(24). Such also, we may believe, was the "Tree of the Fairies," at Donremy in France, (on the borders of Lorraine); a beech of considerable size, near which that unfortunate heroine, Joan of Arc, impiously paid homage to those imaginary creatures, according to her absurd accusers. In

(23) "Le pasteur leur donna un jour une fête ou il les traita avec de l'eau de vie. "Lorsqu' il les vit de bonne humeur, il les exhorta à renoncer à leur superstition, et à "abattre l'arbre sacré. Ils protesterent qu'ils n'oseient y toucher, craignant qu'ils "ne fussent foudroyés au premier coup de hâche. Le pasteur leur promit de porter le "premier coup; il prit une hâche; les mena vers l'arbre, et frappa le premier; les "paysans voyant qu'il n'arrivoit aucun mal à leur pasteur, et l'eau de vie leur ayant "échauffé le courage, abattirent l'arbre qui avoit bravé la faulx du temps." See "Observations d'un Voyageur sur la Russie, la Finlande," &c. p. 3. and p. 80. (Maestr. 1787).

(24) See his "History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell." p. 7, wherein he mentions the popular superstition respecting this tree, as the supposed resort of fairies.

the history of this remarkable tree, we find a strange association of Angels, Fairies and Christian Saints(84).

Various countries of Europe exhibit, even at this day, rags and other offerings hung on trees and bushes growing close to fountains of water, celebrated either for their fancied or real efficacy in curing diseases, and generally bearing the name of some tutelary saint. But those trees do not come within the range of my present observations, since they derive a sacred character merely from their proximity to certain fountains(85).

(84) One charge against the Maid of Orleans (when tried in 1431 for witchcraft and heresy), was her declaration that Saint Margaret and Saint Catharine had revealed themselves and spoken to her near the great tree, which, as was commonly reported, the Fairies frequented. "Quodque dictæ Sanctæ Margarita et Catharina aliquando "eam allocutæ ad fontem quendam juxta arborem magnum appellatum communiter "*l'arbre des fées*," de quibus fonte et arbore fama divulgata est quod *fatales dominæ* "ibidem frequentant," &c. (See her Trial in the "Extraits et Notices des MSS." &c. Tome III. p. 58). Joan acknowledged that she had gone with other girls who amused themselves innocently singing and dancing near the beech called "handsome "May" or "Fairy Tree," formerly haunted, as old people said, by the fairies; but she employed herself there in making nose-gays for the holy Virgin of Douremy; she had seen Angels and the two Saints above-mentioned, not exactly at the Fairy Tree, but at the fountain near it. "Il est vrai," said she, "qu'il y a à Donremy, comme vous "le dites, un hetre qu'on appelle *le bren mai* ou *l'arbre des fées*———Des anciens du "pays disent que les fées venoient autrefois à cet arbre, &c. Mais depuis l'age de "discretion et depuis que j'ai vues les anges et les deux Saintes," &c. (Extr. et Not. III. 38), and we further read (p. 300), that on Ascension eve, the Curate of Douremy usually performed a religious ceremony at this tree, to keep the fairies at a distance; "il etoit même d'usage que la veille de l'ascension le curè allât y chanter un evangile" &c.

(85) On the subject of holy wells, and rags suspended from the adjoining trees or bushes, in our own islands, see Brand on Popular Superstitions; the letters of Columbanus, quoted in Roberts's Cambrian Popular Antiquities; and many other Works.

Here this article must be closed; for although much has been suppressed, it already exceeds by many pages the limits originally prescribed. I shall merely remark that trees appear, on some occasions, not only consecrated to particular divinities or supernatural beings, but often identified with them(97): and concerning inviolability, that, in a country where wood is so scarce as in Persia, (especially its Southern provinces), and where very slight circumstances serve to constitute the *dirakht-i-fázel*, (See p. 384), a few old rags can hardly be supposed capable of saving all those trees from the fatal axe. It is, indeed, rather surprising, that so many should have been allowed to decay with age. I have noticed, however, a great number protected, at least from cattle, by rude stone walls or fences; and the destruction of two beautiful cypresses near *Shiráz*, which had been objects of religious veneration during five or six centuries, excited many imprecations against the perpetrator of that deed, regarded as an evil omen, by persons with whom I conversed, and who had often seen and admired those trees(98).

(97) Baxter (in his Gloss. Antiq. verb: *arbor*) says—"Primis mortalibus maximus "erat honos arboribus; nam et pro Deorum imaginibus, imo magis pro ipsis diis "colebantur," &c.

(98) The same, I have reason to believe, that Francklin (in 1788) thus describes, "two "very large cypress trees of an extraordinary height, which the Persians affirm to "have stood the amazing length of six-hundred years; they are called *Aáshak "Maáshúka*; or the Lover and his Mistress; and are held by the people in great "veneration." ("Tour from Bengal to Persia," p. 26. Calcutta, 1788).

The length of this article might almost induce some readers to suspect that its author was infected with the superstition of which it treats; two branches now on my table, and bearing many votive offerings, (the rags so often mentioned) would tend to confirm their suspicions. It was not, indeed, without certain scruples and much hesitation, that I tore these branches from the parent tree; but my desire of bringing to England some specimen of a *dirakht-i-fázel* was very strong; and this tree appeared, to me at least, peculiarly interesting from its situation; for it grew in a crevice of the rocky mountain immediately above Darius's Palace, or the *Throne of Jemshíd* at Persepolis; and close to the entrance of a sepulchre which once contained the bodies of ancient Persian kings(*).

(*) This was the first Tomb on the left hand, at *Tékht i Jemshíd*. I entered it on the thirteenth of July (1811) through an opening recently made, (not much above twenty inches in height or width;) and found that it contained, even at that season of excessive heat and drought, some stagnant water which probably contributed to nourish two or three small trees growing near its entrance. These trees, however, did not seem to thrive luxuriantly: respecting their species two Persians differed in opinion; to me one seemed of the numerous *bíd* (بید) or willow kind; another was said to be a wild *nár* (نار) or pomegranate. The Royal Tombs at Persepolis, I shall have occasion to notice hereafter.

No. X.

Miscellaneous Plate, (XXIII).

No. 1. IN the first compartment, this plate represents a piece of Ceylonese wood, described in p. 32, where a reference is made to the engraving.

No. 2. A sword with its scabbard; and a shield, of the Arabian Pirates called *Jûasmes*, mentioned in p. 166. The sword-blade is of well tempered steel, extremely sharp at both edges; and, being very thin in proportion to its length, is neither heavy nor unwieldy. The blade itself is two feet nine inches long; and in the broadest part one inch, three quarters. The handle is eight inches long; and, except the iron knob, wholly covered with a thong of leather, wrapped closely round it. The scabbard is of black leather, ornamented and strengthened at the mouth with an indented rim of brass; and, lower down, two rims of lead or pewter admit rings of brass, to which are fastened the ends of a leather strap. Another strap slides between the two pewter rims on a loop of leather. The shield, represented under two points of view, is ten inches in diameter. It was made, as some Arabs who had used shields of this kind, informed me, "from the skin of a great fish." This substance is hard as any wood, about one quarter of an inch thick, and of a buff or cream colour. It

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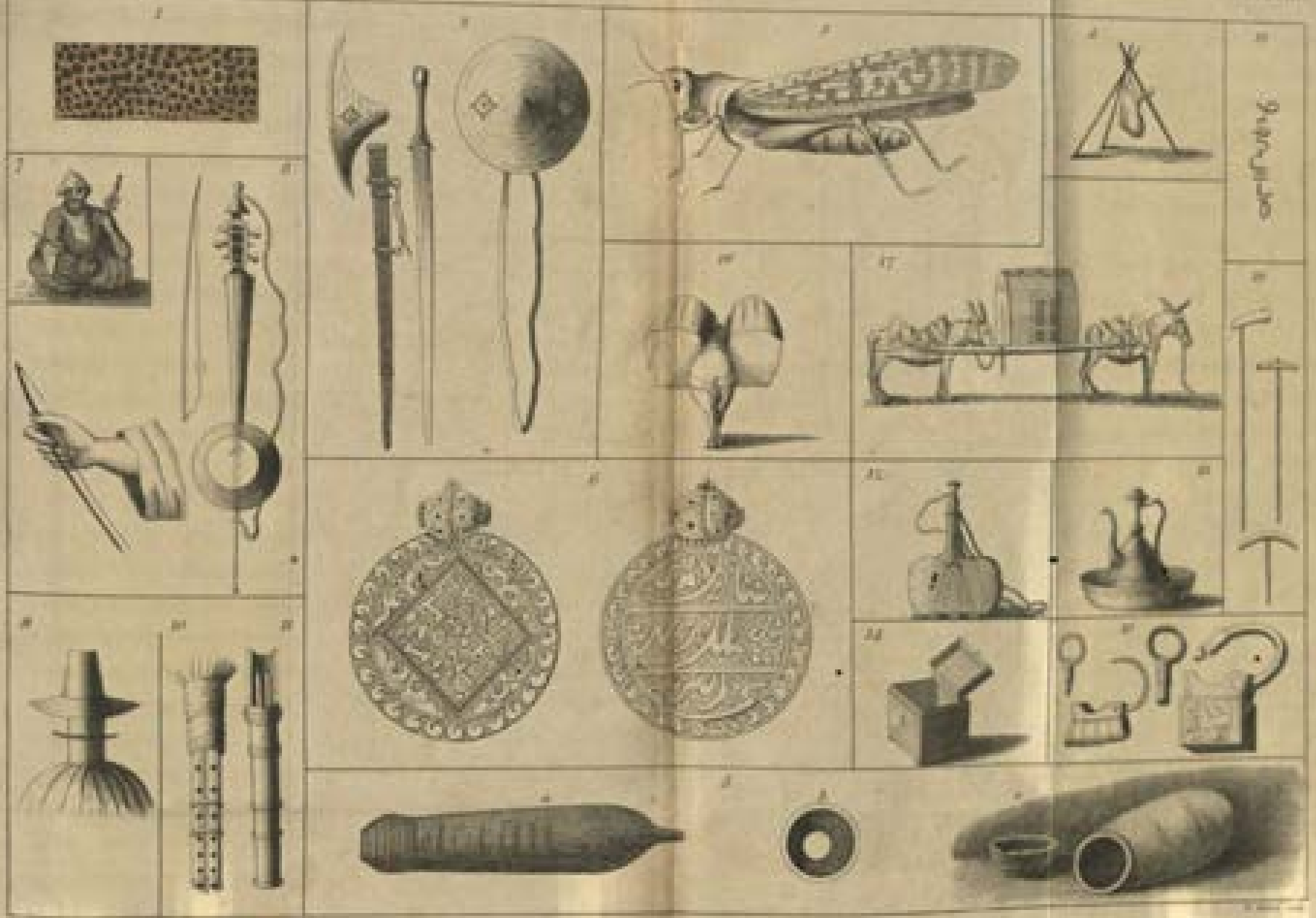
Miscellaneous Plate Vol. I



transmits the light in some places, like a common piece of horn, and appears on the outside as if turned in a lathe; inside, the skin retains its original roughness, and across the hollow formed by the boss, is a slip of the same tough skin; the hollow is filled by the hand, grasping this bar, of which the brass rivets are seen outside in the center of the four-pointed ornaments, also of brass, and spotted with a red substance like sealing-wax. To one of the rivets, inside, is attached a leather strap, by which the shield may be suspended from the neck or slung over the shoulders. Both the sword and shield are in my own collection.

No. 3. A Locust. In the fifth chapter some pages have been devoted to an account of this destructive creature, mentioning (See page 198), the supposed Chaldaick or Arabick letters (p. 199), appearing on its wings. The engraving represents it of the natural size. I made the original coloured drawing at *Búshehr* from a living locust, and, for the sake of greater accuracy, have placed its real wing before the engraver. Subjoined are the Arabick words written, according to Ebn Omar, on the Locust's wings; of those words a translation is given in p. 198; and in the "Persian Miscellanies," p. 176.

نحن جند الله الاكبر لنا تسعة و تسعون بيضة و لو تمت لنا المايئة لاكلنا الدنيا بما فيها

No. 4. The *Meshek* (مشک) or tanned skin containing water, and suspended between sticks. See pages 207. 246.

No. 5. Sepulchral urns found near *Búshehr* and described in Chapter V. (See pp. 218. 219). Several pieces of these urns and the skull which one of them contained, are now in my collection.

No. 6. The Amulet or ornament of pure gold, found among the spoils of *Rás al Kheimah*, on the Arabian coast, when that piratical settlement was destroyed by our troops in November, 1809. (See the third article of this Appendix): a reference is made to the engraving in p. 237; where I have explained the Arabick inscription appearing on one side of this amulet; the other exhibits characters, probably talismanical, between which and various letters scattered through EBN WAUSHIH's extraordinary work on "Ancient Alphabets," a resemblance, or perhaps identity, may be discovered; (See the next article of this Appendix).

No. 7. MAHAMMED CARA'BA'GHI, playing on the *Kamáncheh*, See p. 238.

No. 8. The *Kamáncheh* (کمانچه generally pronounced *Kamooncheh*), a kind of three-stringed violin. See p. 238.

No. 9. The mouth-piece of the *Nei-ambánah* (نی انبانه) or bag-pipe, generally pronounced *ambooneh*, (See p. 242).

No's. 10 and 11. Chanter of the *Nei-ambánah;* See p. 242.

No. 12. The *Matárah* (مطارة) or *Matahrah* (مطهرة), a water-bottle made of Russia-leather, and described in p. 247.

No. 13. TheEwer, called *aftábah* (افتابه) standing in the *laggan* (لگن) or basin, (See p. 247). This is writ en *lakkan* (لقن) by the Arabs. Exactly of the same form as the *laggan*, but much smaller in size, were drinking cups used by my Persian and Turkish companions on our journies through different parts of Asia. I purchased two at *Tokát*, made of copper, tinned or whitened so as to resemble silver, and neatly ornamented with inscribed sentences. Such vessels reminded me of the Greek λάγυνος or λάγηνος, (See Stephani Thes.); and I observe that Minshieu would fancy some resemblance between the Greek word and our old English *flagon*. (Dictionary of eleven languages).

No. 14. The travelling-trunk, or box, *yakhdan* (یخدان) generally pronounced *yakhdoon*, described in p. 248.

No. 15. Two sorts of padlocks and keys, See p. 248. The keys may, perhaps, resemble those which the Greeks called Βαλανάγρα.

No. 16. The *Cajávah* (کجاوه) or double vehicle; See p. 251.

No. 17. The *Takht-raván* (تخت روان), another vehicle mentioned also in p. 251.

No. 18. Part of the *Pahlavi* inscription at *Shápúr* to which a reference is made in p. 284.

No. 19. Different forms of the *Chugán* (چوگان) used in playing at the equestrian game so called. See p. 317; also the Appendix, No. VI. and Plate XXII.

No. XI.

Ancient Alphabets.

IN the article immediately preceding, (See page 404), I alluded to an extraordinary collection of Ancient Alphabets; and shall here notice that we are indebted to Mr. Hammer, an accomplished and most able Orientalist, for the Arabick text, and English translation of EBN WAHSHIH's work(100); which in my opinion is not yet sufficiently known or duly valued by us. But the learned Jesuit Kircher, considered it as a singular providence of God, that he had found a copy among the Turkish spoils at Malta, and celebrates ABEN VASCHIA as a writer highly serviceable in the illustration of Hieroglyphicks(101). Mr. Hammer procured at Cairo the

(100) Published (in small quarto, London, 1806,) under the title of "Hieroglyphic "Characters explained; with an account of the Egyptian Priests, their classes, initia- "tion and sacrifices, &c. by AHMAD BIN ABUBEKR BIN WAHSHIH."

(101) See various passages from Kircher, quoted by Hammer in the preface to his "Ancient Alphabets," pp. xvii. xviii.

manuscript which he has translated; and, in his Preface, enumerates other books on different branches of Philosophy, composed by the same Arabian author, who finished this "Explanation of Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphicks," in the year of Mohammed 241; or, of the Christian era, 855. His principal works appear to have been derived from treatises in the *Nabathean*; a dialect of the ancient Chaldaick language(102); and to those enumerated by Mr. Hammer, we may add the *Kitáb Tangalúshá*, which I find quoted in a rare MS. the *Nozhat Námah Ellaiy*, as an original composition of Bu' Bekr Vahshi(103); while some Persian commentator in a marginal note, declares that Ebn Vahshih did not compose, but merely translated the Book of Tangalu'sha'(104), a name respecting which there exists a

(102) The learned Casiri in his "Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana Escurialens." (Tom. I. p. 31), regards the Nabathæan as not different from the Chaldaick, although in process of time some Arabick words became mixed with the Nabathæan. "Naba-"thæam linguam non aliam a Chaldæa, etsi," &c.

(103) "That which Bu Bekr Vahshi relates in the book entitled *Tangalúshá*." انک بو بکر وحشي در کتاب تنکلوشا کوید The reader will perceive that in this and another passage extracted from the same MS. Vahshi's name wants the h which terminates it in the notes subjoined, and in Mr. Hammer's work.

(104) Of two marginal notes, the longer informs us that "*Tangalúshá* is the name "of a philosopher, and not the title of a book; but it would appear that Ebn Vah-"shih translated a work of Tangalu'sha'."
تنکلوشا اسم حکیمیست نه اسم کتاب ظاهر انست که کتاب اورا ابن وحشیه ترجمه کرده است
From the short note, however, we learn that "the book *Tangalúshá* is a compo-sition of Ebn Vahshih." کتاب تنکلوشا تالیف ابن وحشیه است

degree of confusion, even in the best dictionaries(104). That he was a voluminous writer, I learn from the MS. *Nozhat Námah Ellaïy* above-mentioned, which celebrates among various eminent philosophers, "ABU' BEKR VAHSHI, the "author of several works"(105). It alludes also, on another occasion, to *Kuttub be zabán i Nabti* (كتب بزبان نبطي) or "Writings in the Nabathean language," on superstitious ceremonies, the preparation of certain amulets or talismans, and similar matters, which seem to have much engaged the attention of EBN VAHSHIH. He translated, however, an Essay on the *filáhet* (فلاحة) or "agriculture" of the Nabatheans, as Mr. Hammer remarks; (Pref. p. xvii), or of the Egyptians, according to Velschius(107). But even in this, if we may believe MOSES BEN MAIMON, a Rabbinical doctor, EBN

(104) See the Manuscript Dictionaries *Jehángiri* and *Berhán Kattea*, in the words تنكلوش *Tangalúsh* and تنكلوشا *Tangalúshá*, which are said to signify both a book, and the philosopher who composed it. But the book, as some say, was properly called تنك *Tang*, and the author لوش Lu'sh or لوشا Lu'shá'. (See these words also in the Dictionaries above quoted.) Whichever was his name, this philosopher equalled the celebrated MA'NI of *Chín* in painting; and his book was embellished with most admirable pictures; "according to some" as we read in the MS *Berhán Kattea*, "he was a *Rúmi* (or native of *Rúm*, Asiatick Turkey, including Syria, and some-"times Greece); but others describe him as a *Bábeli*, or Babylonian."

حكيمي است رومي و بعضي كويند بابلي بوده

(105) و ابو بكر وحشي نيز كه صاحب تصنيفات بسيار ست

MS. *Nozhat Námah Ellaiy*. (Sect. xii).

(107) "Ebn Vaschiauus in *Filaha*, sive libro de agricultura Ægypti, Hermetem sive "Edrisum 365 annos vixisse contestatus," &c. Comment. in Ruzname Nauruz, &c. p. 129. Aug. Vipdel. 1676.

VAHSHIH contrived to introduce his favourite subjects(108). These may have appeared absurd, or perhaps impious, to that learned Jew(109); but every antiquary of the present day, would probably regard as a literary object of considerable importance, the recovery of EBN VAHSHIH's works. Indeed all his writings, and especially his translations from Nabathean books, were long since indicated by an eminent person, as worthy of minute research at *Ispahán*. This we learn from the ingenious Hottinger, who styles EBN VAHSHIH "a "Chaldean or Sabian, a very celebrated Magian"(110). That

(108) "The same *Maimonides* cites many other books of the *Sabeans*, translated "into Arabick; of which the chiefest is entituled "*Of the Agriculture of the Naba-*"*teans*," translated by ABEN VASCHUHIAH; full of idololatrical extravagancies: "it treats of the making of *Talismans* (talismans); of the descent of Familiar "Spirits; of conjurations of Demons; of Devils; of such as dwell in Desarts "(as Satyrs were thought to do); many other things it contained very ridiculous, "by which nevertheless they conceived that they could confute the manifest mira-"cles (of Moses and the prophets)." Stanley's "History of the Chaldaick Philosophy." Part. XVIII. chap. 3.

(109) RABBI MOSES BEN MAIMON רבי משה בן מימון or MAIMON, commonly styled by our writers, *Maimonides*, and often by the Jews, *Rambam* (from the initials of his title), flourished in the twelfth century, and composed various works both Hebrew and Arabick. Some of these have been published and translated by Vorstius, Ed. Pococke, D. Vossius and others. But that in which he notices EBN VAHSHIH, is the מורה נבוכים: of this, Buxtorf has given a latin version, and the title of *Moreh Nevochim*, (as we generally quote it), signifies the "Guide of those who "are perplexed or entangled." R. Moses is sometimes entitled BAR (בר) MAIMON, in the same sense as BEN, "the *son*" of MAIMON.

(110) "Magno studio hi à magno quodam viro quærebantur libri in ipsa Persia; dato "mandato, ut operâ Moula Isphahanæ anquireretur:

ما نقله ابن وحشيه الي العربي من كتب النبط في المذاهب و العلوم الزيطيه و ما يوجد من تاليفه "Quicquid transtulisset *Ibn Vaschichia* in linguam

he was by birth or descent *Nabathean*, appears from a passage in his printed work(111); and it would be easy to prove, that, in the words of an excellent old English author; "the "Sabeans or *Zabii*, Chaldeans, *Nabatheans*, and Charaneans, "were as to rites, ceremonies, and al superstitious worship "the same"(112); and that they agreed in most respects with the Persian *Magi*(113). It is not, therefore, unreasonable to expect that books translated from the Nabathean dialect almost a thousand years ago, should afford much interesting information respecting the religion and philosophy, the arts and sciences of the ancient Sabians and Chaldeans; Arabs and Persians; we may add, Egyptians; for the Nabatheans occupied that part of Arabia, which from their capital *Petra* has been called Petræa, bordering on Egypt at the extremity of the Red Sea. We find, accordingly, that much of Ebn Vahshih's printed work relates to the antiquities of Egypt. It is generally supposed that his countrymen derived the appellation of Nabatheans from Ishmael's first-

"Arabicam ex scriptis Nabathæorum; et quicquid scriptorum ejus reperiri posset." (Hotting. Bibliotheca Orient. p. 103. Heidelb. 1658). "*Ibn Vashchija*, Chaldæus seu Sabæus, celebris valde Magus." (Hotting. Hist. Orient. Lib. I. cap. 8. p. 189. Tiguri 1651).

(111) See Mr. Hammer's "Ancient Alphabets," &c. p. 91, of the Arabick text; الذي ترجمته من لساننا النبطي "which we have translated from our own tongue, the Nabathean."

(112) Gale's "Court of the Gentiles" Book I. Part. II. chap. 4. (1676).

(113) See Stillingfleet, Hottinger, Scaliger, Stanley, Vossius, Gale, Huet, Hyde, &c.

born son NEBAIOTH(114); and they are mentioned by several classick writers. But concerning them and the Sabians, my present limits will not allow enquiry; the subject deserves, and the materials which I have collected would furnish, a distinct Essay. As there is reason to believe that certain books of the Sabians still exist, so it is possible that all vestiges of the Nabathean literature may not have disappeared. Fragments of it, at least, might be recovered through the medium of EBN VAHSHIH's Arabick versions, which probably lurk in some Eastern library, though my researches after them were unsuccessful among the booksellers of *Shiráz* and *Ispahán*. The reader will undoubtedly coincide with me in wishing, that, whenever found, they may be placed in the hands of such a translator as Mr. Hammer.

There is now before me a Volume of thirty pages, exhibiting sixty alphabets; these I transcribed several years ago by Lord Teignmouth's permission, from a Manuscript which he procured in India. The characters are described in black ink, immediately under the corresponding Arabick letters, in red; but the titles of many alphabets are given in the Persian language; notwithstanding this circumstance, and although examples of conformity but rarely occur, I am

(114) In Genesis, chap. xxv. v. 13. נְבָיוֹת. In Isaiah, ch. LX. v. 7. נְבָיוֹת. But some refer this name rather to the country than to Ishmael's first-born. After the Hebrew, Josephus writes Ναβαιώθης. (Antiq. Lib. I. cap. 13). Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and other Greek writers mention the Ναβαταιοι.

induced to think that Ebn Vahshih's "Alphabets" (perhaps inaccurately written) served as a model for these; among which, however, are inserted some not found in that Arabian author's work, such as (قلم فرنكي) *Calm Frangky*, "European letters" and *Calm-i-Zardushtián átish perest* (قلم زردشتیان اتش پرست) or "Alphabet of the Fire-worshipping Zoroastrians." In this we may discover the elementary character, (arrow-headed or nail-headed) of the Persepolitan inscriptions; a copy of the alphabet, which I made from Lord Teignmouth's Manuscript, may be seen engraved in the "Oriental Collections." (Vol. II. No. 1. p. 57).

XII.

Sabians.

FROM several anecdotes respecting the Sabians, which I have collected among Manuscripts, it appears necessary that one should be here given, in confirmation of my opinion above expressed (See p. 411) on the probability that some of their writings still exist. The other anecdotes, too numerous for insertion in this Appendix, and some conjectures arising from them, I shall offer on a more convenient occasion; the conjectures (at least) with extreme diffidence; for, concerning the *Sabian* worship, even Sir William Jones acknowledged the difficulty of obtaining any satisfactory

information(115). It is well known that the Catholick Missionaries have converted many of the *Sabians*, or as they are often entitled, "Christians of Saint John" at *Basrah*. Father Angelo mentions an extraordinary seal, of which the device was apparently magical, impressed on the clay of a *Sabian*'s grave in that city(116); and Petis de la Croix, about the same time (1674) estimated at above 10,000, the persons of that ancient sect residing there. He had collected in his Memoirs or "Grand Journal" (unfortunately not yet published), various particulars on the subject of their faith and manners; and from SHEIKH YAHIA, the *Sabian* priest, obtained "the Book of their Religion and of their History," which, probably, he brought to France; although some magical figures given to him by that *Sheikh* "he did not fail to cast into the sea(117). But fifty years after, as I find

(115) "We learn from the *Dabistán*, that the popular worship of the *Iránians*, under "*Húshang*, was purely *Sabian*; a word of which I cannot offer any certain etymology; but which has been deduced by Grammarians from *Seba* "an host," and particularly the *host of heaven*, or the *celestial bodies*, in the adoration of which the "*Sabian* ritual is believed to have consisted." Sir Wm. Jones's Disc. on the Persians. "It is generally asserted that the old religion of the *Arabs* was entirely *Sabian*; but "I can offer so little accurate information concerning the *Sabian* faith, or even the "meaning of the word, that I dare not yet speak on the subject with confidence. "This at least, is certain; that the people of *Yemen* very soon fell into the common, "but fatal errour of adoring the sun and the firmament."

Sir Wm. Jones's Disc. on the Arabs.

(116) See the "Gazophylacium Linguæ Persarum," p. 386. The seal was bordered with the figure of a serpent; and the middle exhibited a scorpion and a wasp.

(117) "Je ne pus l'avoir (le livre de leur religion et de leur histoire), qu'au jour de "mon départ que le Cheykh Yahhia (c'est le nom du curé des *Saby*), me vint voir et

by the manuscript memoirs of a Persian Traveller, the *Sabians* of districts bordering on *Basrah*, still retained the faith of their ancestors, and at least one of their Sacred Volumes The ingenious MOHAMMED ALI HAZI'N (محمد علي حزين) having gone from *Sanaá* (صنعا) the capital of *Yemen* in Arabia, to *Mocha* (مخا or as he writes, *Múkhá* موخا) and thence to *Basrah*, proceeded for the benefit of his health, into the province of *Khúzistán* or Susiana. "Here," says he "at *Havízah* "(حويزه), *Shúshter* (شوشتر) and *Diz-i-Fúl* (دز فول) are established "the *Sabians*; and in these three places alone, can any "traces of that sect be at present discovered. As far as my "researches extended, I could not find that any person "of eminent learning remained among them; and they "seemed a mean and abject race. The *Sabians* are disci-"ples of SA'B (صابب) the son of EDRI's (ادريس or Enoch), on "whom be the blessing of God! And the authors of some "chronicles have regarded SA'B as a prophet; whilst others "reckon him among the Philosophers. ADAM, on whom "be the peace of God, was the first prophet, and SA'B the "last, according to those *Sabians;* who *have a certain book* "*divided into one hundred and twenty chapters, or sections; and* "*this book they call* "ZEBU'R-I-AVVEL," *or the* "First Psal-

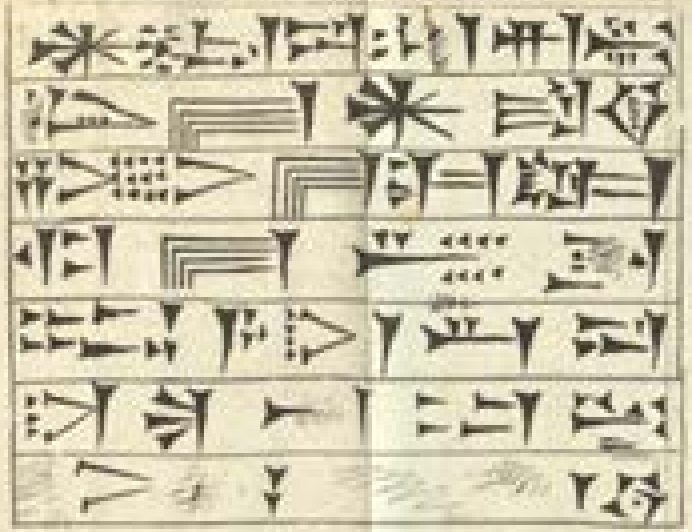
"me l'apporta après m'avoir fait faire des sermens que ce livre etoit pour l'Empereur "de France; il me donna plusieurs figures de magie pour joindre au livre, de peur "qu'il ne lui arrivât quelque malheur durant mon voyage; et je ne manquois pas de "les jeter dans la mer."—"Extrait du Journal du Sieur Petis, Fils." p. 110. published after the "Relation de Dourry Effendy," Paris, 1810.

"ter"(118); and it is their belief, that the Creator of this world "made the celestial spheres and stars; and committed to "them the regulation of mundane affairs; and they worship "the stars; and having assigned to each a determined form, "they make representations of them accordingly, saying "this is the form of such or of such a star;" and to each they "pay ceremonious and humble respect. Their wise-men "however declare that they neither worship the stars, nor "those representations of them, but that both serve merely "as a *kiblah* or visible object on which they may fix their "eyes during prayer. But many of this sect believe in the "influence of heavenly bodies, and of forms representing "inferior things, such as sculptured or painted figures, and "images; and in former times there were among the *Sabians*, "many illustrious philosophers and learned men, eminently "versed in the occult sciences."

This passage is extracted from ALI HAZI'N's Memoirs, comprised in a thin octavo volume, of which I had prepared several years ago an English translation, to be printed with the Persian text. But having learned that a very inge-

(118) و ایشانرا کتابیست مشتمل بر یکصد و بیست سوره و آن را زبور اول خوانند MS. Memoirs of ALI HAZI'N. It may be remarked that our Musulmán writer here dignifies the divisions of this *Sabian* Book, by entitling them *Súrah*, a name, according to some commentators, almost peculiarly bestowed on the various portions of the *Korán*, whilst the chapters or sections of common works are expressed by *fasl* فصل, *báb* باب, *kysm* قسم, and other terms. The Psalter of David is called *Zebúr*, and the *Sabian* Volume, *Zebúr i awwel* (or *awwel* as the Persians often pronounce that word), the "first psalter," denoting, probably, its greater antiquity.

nious orientalist at Calcutta was employed on the same task I relinquished my design. Since the death, however, of that gentleman, it appears that he had never actually commenced although he had meditated the work. My translation, therefore, may yet be offered to the publick, at some future period of leisure. A short account of ALI HAZI'S was given in the Oriental Collections (Vol. II. p. 37), noticing the variety of personal and historical anecdotes that diversify his Memoirs; his excellent observations on men and manners; the interesting narrative of his travels in Persia, Arabia, and Hindústán; besides his remarks on many rare literary works, and the specimens of several which he has given; I further observed that he was himself a very voluminous writer both in prose and verse; and so free from prejudice either national or religious, that he willingly bestowed praise on meritorious persons of whatever sect or country; even on some *Gabrs* or Fire-worshipers whom he found to be learned and amiable; of many hundred *Muselmán* authors, whose works I have perused, he is one of the few (five or perhaps six) entitled in this respect, to the epithet "liberal." I shall here only add, that MOHAMMED ALI HAZI'S was born at *Ispahán*, in 1691; that he was a man of high rank and eminent for erudition; but to avoid persecution under the tyrant NA'DER SHA'H, he fled from Persia and took refuge in India, where he died (at *Benáres*) admired and esteemed by the *Muselmán*, *Hindú*, and English inhabitants. One account which I have seen, states that "he had attained to



"a very advanced age;" another, more particular, dates his death in the year 1779.

No. XIII.

Ancient Bricks, Gems, Medals, &c.

ALL the *antiques* delineated in Plate XXI, and of which it is scarcely possible that any engravings can hitherto have appeared, form part of my own collection, except three (numbered 7, 14, and 15); of these, also, I believe, no representations have until now been published; and they are here given for the sake of present comparison and future reference. The other articles were mostly procured while our Embassy resided in the South of Persia; and I have slightly alluded to them in pp. 117, 213, 238, 316, and other parts of this volume.

At the head are five Babylonian bricks, to which, however, the first places have not been assigned from any fixed opinion of their superior antiquity; for other articles which the same plate exhibits, may equal or exceed them in that respect. But their extraordinary inscriptions render them in the highest degree interesting; and the very circumstance of being found at *Hillah* (الحلة), where Babylon once stood, must powerfully recommend them to every antiquary. From that place, Captain Lockett (in December, 1811), sent to me, (then at *Tehrán*), a brick of which No. 1. *a*, shows

the inscription in its full size; and No. 1. *b*, the general appearance reduced. This brick is of well-baked clay, thirteen inches square, and about three inches thick. The inscription appears to have been impressed at once on the soft clay, by means of a stamp, perhaps a block of hard wood.

No. 2, shows (in its real dimensions) the surface of a brick, which is above an inch in thickness, and rough at the back. Nos. 3, 4, and 5, (also of the real size) represent inscribed pieces of baked clay; *each* seems to have been regularly moulded; being thicker in the middle than at the edges or ends; and exhibiting characters, on both faces and some even on the sides or edges. These three, we may therefore conclude, were not designed for any architectural uses to which the others, (Nos. 1, and 2, particularly 1), might have been applied. No. 3, appears in some places polished as if by frequent handling; it was perhaps worn as a pocket amulet. Of inscribed Babylonian bricks, (chiefly such as resemble No. 1, in size), our European collections, both private and publick, contain many. From some preserved in the *Bibliothéque du Roi* at Paris, M. Millin not only sent plaster impressions to various learned men; but with his wonted liberality and zeal for the promotion of antiquarian research, published engravings in the "Monumens Antiques "Inedits," (Tome II. p. 264); thereby enabling persons of every country to exert their efforts towards the explanation of

those Babylonian inscriptions, which otherwise so few could enjoy an opportunity of studying. It must, undoubtedly, have been with such a laudable desire for the attainment of this object, that engravings, it is said, were made from several Babylonian bricks, deposited within a few years, at the East-India House in London; but it has not been in my power to obtain impressions of those plates.

The contrariety of opinions entertained by eminent orientalists on the subject, has not deterred me from devoting at different times, much attention to the characters formed of those *nail-headed* or *arrow-headed* elements which equally constitute, though with a difference easily perceived by those who endeavour to decipher them, the inscriptions found on marbles at Persepolis and on bricks at Babylon. But I have latterly discontinued my own researches into these mysterious characters, hoping or rather confidently expecting from his well known ingenuity, that Mr. Grotefend, who is now employed on them, will solve all their difficulties, and soon gratify the curiosity which they have so strongly excited([119]). With No. 1, I received from Captain Lockett the bronze bull No. 6, found also by that Gentleman at

([119]) Besides the slight notices given by a multitude of travellers who had visited the East, many learned Orientalists and Antiquaries have at home offered various conjectures and opinions, scattered throughout numerous works, respecting those characters, such as Cupes, Lacroze, Hyde, Caylus, Court de Gebelin, Wahl, Jones, de Bock, Forster, Heeren, Herder, Kleuker, Mannert, de Murr, Witte, De Sacy,

Babylon, where he procured another of the same size and form, which is now in his own collection.

No. 7, represents the device on a very remarkable stone. When at *Iravân* (in July, 1812), on my way through Armenia, I copied this device by Captain Monteith's permission, from the original sketch which he had made (three years before) among the ruins of ancient Susa, in *Khúzistán*, or the province of Susiana(120). The stone, as he described it, was twenty-two inches long, and twelve broad; and contained on one side, an inscription in the arrow-headed or nail-headed characters above mentioned, of which, we may regret, he had not made a copy. This precious remnant of antiquity (although regarded with superstitious respect), might have been, at that time, purchased on moderate terms;

Klaproth, Hager, Henley, Monges, Henin, Langlès, Millin, Maurice, &c. A distinct Essay "De Cuneatis Inscriptionibus Persepolitanis," was published in 1798, by the late Professor Tychsen of Rostock; another entitled "Undersogelser omde Persepolitaniske Inscriptioner," in 1800, by the celebrated Danish Professor (now Bishop) Münter; and in 1803 appeared the "Tentamen Palæographiæ Assyrio-Persicæ," of Lichtenstein, with comparative alphabets, and his explanations of the Persepolitan, and Babylonian characters.

(120) The stone was preserved near an edifice called the "Tomb of Daniel" amidst ruins covering, as Captain Monteith informed me, a space of sixteen or eighteen miles. These vestiges indicate a celebrated city; that of which the name is generally written *Shúsh*(شوش) in Persian works, and sometimes *Sús*, (سوس) "after the Arabian manner," as SADEK ISFAHA'NI observes in his MS. *Tahkik el aarèb*. Respecting Susiana, less known yet more interesting to the geographer and antiquary than almost any other Persian province, I shall, on a future occasion, offer some remarks (See p. 148); only stating here my opinion, that *Shúsh* or

but particular circumstances, (not caused by any actual opposition from the people) rendered its removal inconvenient to Captain Monteith and his companion, Captain Macdonald Kinneir, however desirous, both, of possessing it. When the Hon. Mr. Gordon, a member of our Embassy, visited Susa, in 1811, he found the stone more highly estimated; and in 1812 its reputation was so established throughout the country as a talisman powerful against the plague, hostile invasion, and other evils, that a person sent by him expressly to purchase it (and authorized for that purpose by MOHAMMED ALI MI'RZA, Prince of *Kirmánsháh*), although he had placed it in a boat (on the Eulæus or "the river of Ulai," Daniel, viii. 2). was compelled to relinquish his prize by the inhabitants of *Shúshter*, *Diz i fúl* and other places adjacent to Susa. Having afterwards among themselves, collected two thousand *tumáns* (a sum not much less than sixteen hundred pounds) they presented them with two fine Arab horses, to the Prince,

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Sús represents the Σοῦσα or Susa of Greek and Roman authors: that imperial city entitled "Shushan the palace" (metropolis or castle) שׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה in the Book of Esther (I. 2.) and of Daniel (VIII. 2); the very scene of this prophet's vision. I am aware that D'Herbelôt and others have confounded *Shúsh* with *Shúshter*; the ancient and deserted, with the modern and peopled capital. But while in the opinion above expressed, I may seem to have rashly dissented from D'Herbelôt, D'Anville, and Vincent; it affords me satisfaction to coincide with Rennell and Barbié du Bocage. These two distinguished living geographers reserve their arguments for future works; but we may suppose that besides printed authorities accessible to all, they have availed themselves of original unpublished communications; I too, am indebted for assistance in my researches on Susiana, to private information, by which their judgments cannot have been influenced; and to one Persian Manuscript, at least, which D'Herbelôt himself cannot have seen.

and it was decreed by his Royal Highness that the stone should not be removed from Susa; there, most probably, it still remains, guarded by a *fakír* or *dervísh* who shows the tomb of Daniel(m). In some figures of the device it resembles that extraordinary sculptured stone deposited in the Bibliothéque du Roi at Paris, and described by M. Millin as a "Monument Persepolitain," since it exhibits long inscriptions in the arrow-headed or Persepolitan character. His account of it (given in the "Monumens Antiques Inedits," Tome I. p. 58), is illustrated with two engravings; and he informs us that it was found by M. Michaux within a day's journey below *Baghdád*. M. Michaux, in the "Magaz. Encycl." (An.

(m) The earliest notice of Daniel's Tomb, published in Europe, seems to have been given by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Asia between the years 1160 and 1173. The account of his Travels (first printed in Hebrew, 1543) has gone through several editions, and translations into different languages. The Tomb of Daniel is also mentioned by another Jewish traveller, whose Hebrew work with a latin version by Hottinger, appeared at Heidelburg in 1659, under the title of "Cippi Hebraici." But in these notices we find a confusion of the Tigris with the Euphrates; of Babylon with Susa; and I remark that in 1707, the Sieur Paul Lucas, when at Tarsus, a very distant part of Asia, saw the Mosque wherein Daniel was entombed, as some Turks assured him; ("Voyage," &c. Tome I. p. 273. Amst. 1714). Notwithstanding these contradictory statements, the local tradition which places Daniel's Tomb at Susa, (*Shúshan* by the river *Ulai*) appears to me worthy of investigation. Through the more modern authors of some Oriental works, mostly geographical, I have pursued the tradition to HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI (of the fourteenth century), and from him (through Rabbi Benjamin above named) to EBN HAUKAL, who travelled in the tenth. (See his Orient. Geog. 70.) This is probably the oldest authority that printed books furnish on the subject; but a venerable historian, AASIM of *Cúfah*, who preceded EBN HAUKAL by two hundred years (for he died in 735), mentions the discovery of Daniel's coffin at *Sús* in a passage which on a future occasion I shall extract from his Manuscript Chronicle.

VI. Tome 3, p. 86), observes that, as Babylonia is an argillaceous soil without any stony substances, this *basalt* (or *marble* as M. Millin considers it), although found near the river Tigris, was probably brought from the interior of Persia. Captain Monteith informed me that the sculptured monument at Susa above noticed, was of a stone perfectly different from any which that place or the country surrounding it naturally yields. He added that not very long before his expedition to Susa, the peasants had discovered near Daniel's Tomb, a trough or basin of fine white marble, handsomely carved, and exhibiting the figures of two lions and a man, recumbent or fallen supinely, on whose head their paws were placed, but not as if with a design to injure him; this trough was one foot in breadth and nearly two in length, a slab of marble, more than five feet square, had also been found at the same place; it was covered with figures and inscriptions, as the people reported; but it had been sold for a trifle, removed to *Dix-i-fúl* and there applied, most probably in a broken state, to some common purposes of architecture. Among the sketches made by Mr. Gordon at Susa, was (if my memory has not deceived me) a delineation of the marble trough above-mentioned.

No. 8. *a*, represents the device (enlarged), of an ancient Cylinder, which in No. 8. *b*, appears of the real size. It is a hæmatite, perforated longitudinally, like many other cylinders of different materials and devices, but all belong-

ing to that class of *antiques* which have been usually entitled Persian, although some we must suppose of Babylonian, and a few are, perhaps, of Egyptian workmanship. This device seems to indicate the preparations for a sacrifice; and exhibits, what I could not discover among the sculptures at Persepolis, a female figure; the face of this is injured; but such female forms may be seen on various cylindrical gems, and easily distinguished, not only by the absence of a beard, but by the horizontal plaits or flounces of the lower garment, and (in general) by the uplifted hands(122).

No. 9. *a*, shows the real size, and No. 9. *b*, the enlarged device on a pale-red Carnelion Cylinder, which was found at Babylon, and brought to England by Captain Lockett, who obligingly gratified me with the choice of one from his numerous and admirable collection. As some of his gems contain legends in Persepolitan or Babylonian characters, besides very extraordinary figures both human and monstrous, it may be doubted whether in the selection of this carnelion all antiquaries would have accorded with me. I do not venture, by any means, to pronounce it the most valuable; but an opportunity of estimating its comparative

(122) From original rudeness of workmanship, or from accidental injury, the heads of these figures on many cylindrical gems, are ambiguously expressed, and I strongly suspect that in drawings, or engravings made from them, the female face, has through mistake, been sometimes furnished with a beard; this suspicion may perhaps fall even on a cylinder, delineated by the ingenious Raspe; (Tassie's Gems, Plate IX. 2. No. 16099).

worth will soon, probably, be offered to the publick; as Captain Lockett's promised observations on Babylon are now, we may indulge the hope, far advanced in their progress towards publication, and will be illustrated, as I have reason to know, with most accurate engravings of those gems. Until their appearance I shall hazard but few conjectures on cylindrical *antiques*, a subject which has already (though in a slight degree) attracted the notice of many ingenious writers, and most recently, of that able antiquary Mr. Landseer([123]).

How far, in a sense strictly local, Mr. Raspe (see his Catalogue of Tassie's Gems) and others are authorized to pronounce those cylinders "Persepolitan" rather than "Babylonian," I shall not, at present inquire; since the publication of Raspe's Catalogue, in 1791, such numbers have been found on the very site of ancient Babylon, as would perfectly justify a change of denomination. For my

([123]) See "Observations on Engraved Gems" &c. communicated (in March 1817) to the Society of Antiquaries, by John Landseer, Esq. F. S. A. and published in the Archæologia, Vol. XVIII. On the eve of his departure from England, Captain Lockett consigned these Babylonian treasures to the care of Mr. Landseer, who has undertaken to conduct through the press his absent friend's long-expected work on the venerable City of Nimrod or Belus, of Ninus and Semiramis; and of his most interesting researches on the plain of Shinaar. Much may be expected from the author's qualifications; his knowledge of Eastern languages; his general erudition and his indefatigable spirit of inquiry. I shall here express my wish, that Mr. Landseer may soon extend his own short Memoir, now part of a miscellaneous work, to a Volume which, coming from his pen, cannot be too long; and which, in a distinct form, may be better adapted to publick circulation.

part, I am willing to believe that long before Cyrus had made Babylon his residence during the greater part of every year (as we learn from Xenophon, Athenæus, Zonaras, &c), a considerable intercourse must have subsisted between the neighbouring countries, Persia and Chaldæa, and that the religious ceremonies and the language of their respective inhabitants, were nearly the same(124). After it had fallen under the dominion of Cyrus, (537 years before Christ), we find Babylon styled, politically, a "Persian city," or a "city of the Persians"(125); and geographically enumerated, by Eastern writers, among the territories that once constituted the empire of *Irán* or Persia(126). And they

(124) It is probable that the Medes, Persians and Babylonians spoke but different dialects of one ancient tongue; and Lichtenstein declares that they used in their inscriptions the same elementary form of characters, arrow-headed or cuneiform. (Tentam. Palæogr. Assyrio—Pers. p. 74). This is confirmed by the more recent inquiries of Mr. Grotefend, who derives the cuneiform letters of Babylon from Persia; and regards the Median *Zend* as holding the first place among those kinds of writing used by the Persians. All languages in which cuneiform characters were employed, appear to him as cognate; for the Babylonian dialect was not, in his opinion, that now called Chaldaick, but a more ancient tongue of the Chaldæans or Assyrians; from which the *Pahlavi* of Persia seems to have proceeded; and he thinks it probable that the Babylonians of Nebuchadnezzar's time conversed in a certain Persian dialect. "Babyloniæ quidem cuneiformis scripturæ a Perside originem duxit; inter "Persicas vero scripturas quantum nos quidem invenimus, Zendica Mediæ linguæ "primum locum obtinet. Linguas tamen omnes cuneatæ scripturæ inter se cognatas "puto, &c."—("Mines de l' Orient," Tome V. pp. 227, 228, See also p. 225.

(125) "Persarum statuit Babylona, Semiramis urbem." See Propertius Lib. III. el. 11. v. 21; and Stephanus Byzantius describes Βαβυλων as Περσων πόλις.

(126) Babylon, (بابل *Babil*) was the chief glory of *Irán* "in former times." See Ebn Haukal's, Or. Geogr. p. 3. Hamdallah Cazvi'ni beginning his account of

affirm that during a long succession of Persian Monarchs who bequeathed to their descendant, our Ahasuerus, the dominion extending "from India even unto Ethiopia, over "an hundred and seven and twenty provinces" (Esther I. 1), Babylon was, equally with Persepolis and other great cities, occasionally one of the royal residences. According to the venerable father of Asiatick history, those Kings who governed Babylonia, and who reigned independently of each other in various regions between the Red Sea and the Indian or Scythian frontiers, (in the time when Moses flourished, fifteen centuries before Christ,) were all but vassals, or tributary to the great MINU'CHEHR, Sovereign paramount of *Irán*.(177) It is unnecessary to quote the more modern his-

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Irán, informs us that "according to the work entitled *Mesálik al Memálik*, the "province of *Irák Arab* (Chaldæa or Babylonia) was called "the heart of the land "of *Irán*." در مسالک الممالک آمده که عراق عرب را دل ایران زمین خوانده اند MS. *Nozhát al-Colúb*.

(177) The historian TABRI, in his account of MINU'CHEHR says that "the *Aajems* or ancient heathen Persians, had always a king; and the prophets who came forth in Syria and the West flourished in the time of those kings, whose residence was in the region of *Bábel*, and in the land of *Irák*, where *Bagdád*, *Ahwáz*, (in Susiana), *Cúfah* and *Basrah*, are now situate; and one race of those kings established themselves in *Párs*; and some of them ruled even over the Arabians, the Syrians and people of *Yemen*; but there were others whose dominion did not extend beyond the Euphrates and Tigris *on that side*; and this MINU'CHEHR was a mighty king among those *Aajems*, and to him belonged the sovereignty of Syria, *Yemen*, and *Maghreb* or the Western countries, and Moses the prophet on whom be the peace of God, came forth in his time."
و همیشه مر عجم را ملکی بود که این پیغمبران که بزمین شام بیرون آمدند و بزمین مغرب بوقت ایشان بیرون آمدند و جای ملوک عجم باقلیم بابل بود و بزمین عراق

torians after whom M. D'Herbelôt offers a conjecture, that those rulers of Babylon regarded by the Greeks and Jews as absolute and independent Monarchs, were only Vice-regal representatives of other Kings reigning farther in the interior of Asia.(139)

However this may be, Sir William Jones relying on evidence which to him appears unexceptionable, declares that "the *Iránian* Monarchy must have been the oldest in the "world," as a powerful dynasty, (the *Mahabádian*) had existed for ages in *Irán* previous to the accession of CAYUMERS; whose reign he dates almost nine hundred years before Christ, (Discourse on the Persians), and who has hitherto by Eastern writers been generally regarded as the first post-diluvian King of Persia.

But let us, for a moment, suppose the cylindrical gems (wherever found) to be, as they are styled by many antiqua-

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انجا که امروز بغدادست و اهواز و کوفه و بصره و کروهي بزمین پارس نشستندي و ازین ملکان عجم کسی بود که عرب نیز بفرمان او بودندي و کس بود از ملوک عجم که پادشاهي او از رود فرات و دجله از ان سو نکذشتي و این منوچهر ملکي بود از عجم سخت بزرک و او پادشاهي شام و یمن و مغرب داشتي — و موسي پیغمبر عم بروزکار او بیرون امد

See the MS. *Tárikh i Tabri*.

The historian adds that MINU'CHEHR's power was not acknowledged by the *Amalekite* عمالیق Pharaohs of Egypt who reigned independently.

(139) — "d'ou l'on pourroit conjecturer que ces Princes, qui ont passé pour Mon-"arques absolus et independants chez les Grecs et chez les Juifs, n'etoient que des "Lieutenans d'autres Roys qui regnoient plus avant dans l'Asie." (Bibl. Or. in *Babel.*)

ries, Persepolitan; we may naturally seek an explanation of them in the religion, the mythology or allegory, and history of ancient Persia, not only through the medium of Grecian, Roman and Jewish authors, but in the oldest writings that remain among the *Gabrs* or Fire-worshipers of that country, and their brethern the *Parsís* ofIndia; even the *Pahlavi* traditions which FIRDAUSI has preserved among a thousand fables in his *Sháhnámah*, may not be unworthy of our examination. If we trace the cylinders in this line back to the remotest ages, we must recollect those Persian *Image-Temples*, or *Temples of the Luminaries* described in that *learned work* (as Sir William Jones entitles it) the *Dabistán*; temples, consecrated to the Sabian worship, or adoration of the celestial bodies, and replete with sculptured forms not surpassed by any devices on our cylindrical gems, in monstrous combinations(129).

If we attribute these gems to the disciples of ZERA'TUSHT or Zoroaster, the various figures of *Amshaspands* and *Izeds*, of the *Planets*, of *Ormuzd*, *Mithra*, *Bahram*, *Tashter*, *Ashmoug*, *Ahriman*, the *Ferouers* and other spirits good and evil, and their frequent combats, will present themselves to our imaginati-

(129) See the Persian text of the *Dabistán*, printed at Calcutta; and the chapter of that work which relates to the Persians, published with an English translation, by Mr. Gladwin, in his Asiatick Miscellany, Vol. I. Calcutta 1789. Saturn had a human body, an apes head, and a hog's tail; he held a snake in one hand; Jupiter had a vulture's head. The sun had a human body, two heads, and a dragon's tail; Mercury had a fish's body and tail, the face of a hog and two arms, &c.

on as described in the "Zendavesta"(130). And an ingenious writer has undertaken to illustrate from the *Shâhnâmah* many particulars respecting those Persepolitan remains which are now called the "*Throne of Jenshîd*," where we find heroes and monsters as on the cylinders and other gems ascribed to Persian artists(131).

But supposing these *antiques* to be in the strict sense Babylonian, and consulting the oldest fragments of Chaldean mythology, we shall perhaps be induced to fancy that the monsters represented on them, are imitations of certain painted, or sculptured forms which existed at Babylon, in the Temple of Belus, where Berosus officiated as a priest.

(130) Translated into French by Anquetil du Perron, and from French into German by Kleuker, (in three volumes, 4to), containing, it is said, many valuable illustrations. Sir William Jones's criticism and Richardson's feeble attack on Anquetil have been already noticed, (p. 146): but Sir William Jones in his more mature judgment, could allow due praise to the learned Frenchman's literary merit, while he censured his virulence of temper, and an intimate acquaintance during three years with a well-informed disciple of *Zerâtusht*, enabled the President of the Asiatick Society to pronounce authentick those vocabularies of the ancient *Irânian* dialects preserved in the *Zendaretta*; (Jones's Disc. on the Pers). Yet Anquetil's *Zend* and *Pahlavi* were subjects on which Richardson had been particularly severe! (Dissert. prefixed to his Dict.) From the result of a comparison which has been mentioned in page 370, (note 60), I am persuaded that every examination of the Manuscripts, which Anquetil brought to France, and that future inquiries among the *Gabrs* and *Persis* will evince his accuracy as a translator, and the importance of his work. Those MSS. though probably not compiled until the third century, may, nevertheless, be depositories of old fragments and traditions. Their utility in philological and antiquarian researches will best appear from the references made to them by such men as Jones, D'Hancarville, De Sacy, Herder, Heeren, Munter, Hagemau, and others.

(131) See Hagemau's "Monumenti Persepolitani e Ferdusio Illustratio. Gottingæ, 1801.

From Berosus himself, who flourished in the fourth century before Christ, we learn what those forms were; men with two or four wings, or having the horns and legs of goats, the heads or limbs of horses, or the tails of fishes; horses with the heads of dogs, also bulls with the heads of men, besides monsters combining the shapes of fishes, serpents, and other animals; all of which, in the beginning, had inhabited the dark watery abyss, but were destroyed by Belus(132).

According to the explanation of this allegory, as given by the ancient author who relates it, we discover the supposed generation of monstrous animals in the moisture and darkness of primitive nature; and their disappearance when affected by the heat and splendour of Belus, the *Lord* or *King*, the *Divinity*, or, in one word the Sun(133). On many

(132) See the fragments of Berosus, preserved by Eusebius (Chronic.) and Syncellus (Chronogr.) Different articles of the Plate (XXI), exhibit forms sufficiently resembling some described as above by Berosus; and the bulls with human heads, also half men half bulls, and various kinds of Sphinxes, may be found on cylinders in many collections. (See Tassie's Gems, Pl. IX. 2. X. &c).

(133) Of *Baal* and *Belus*, names common to various Gods; the Chaldæan or Babylonian בל *Bel*, the Phœnician *Baal*, both from the Hebrew בעל *Baal* or "Lord" (utrumque ab Ebraeo *Baal*, id est, Dominus), see Selden, de Dis Syris; Synt. II. c. I. See also the transition of *Baal* into Βῆλ and Βῆλος, in Perizonius's work, "Origines Babylonicæ et Ægyptiacæ. Tome II. cap. V. p. 58; and p. 60, where he remarks that almost every Eastern nation had their *Belus*, or God. "Belum in Oriente significasse generatim Deum et singulas pene Gentes istic suum habuisse Belum, &c." and he proves that the Babylonians, particularly, called the supreme Deity *Belus* from a passage of Diodorus. Διος εν καλουσιν οι Βαβυλώνιοι Βῆλον. (Lib. II. p. 97. edit. Rhodom. 1604;) and that this Deity was the sun, appears from Servius

cylinders and other monuments of Babylonian or Persian sculpture, a human figure, often crowned as a king, appears holding in his powerful grasp, (as on the gem No. 9), or combating, and always victoriously, some monstrous creature of imagination. From the Mithraick globe and other indications of solarity, this regal personage might, by a fanciful antiquary, be supposed to represent the great Belus himself. It is even possible that the Carnelion (No. 9), might suggest a momentary idea, (for it could scarcely be more) of those beings, half-fishes, half-men, the Oannes, Annedotus, or others of similar form, who came up from the sea into Babylonia, and instructed rude mortals in arts and sciences. The picture or image of Oannes was still preserved at Babylon in the time of Berosus(154).

(in Virg. Æn. l. v. 723). "Lingua Punica *Bal* Deus dicitur, apud Assyrios autem *Bel* "dicitur quadam sacrorum ratione et Saturnus et Sol;" and from Vossius who remarks, after the best authorities, that the Babylonians called the sun *Belus* appositely in the sense of "Lord" as the Moabites called it Moloch or "King." Assyriis, ac Chaldæis sive Babyloniis, sol dicebatur *Belus*. Apposite verò soli dederunt nomen *Beli* uti Moabitæ *Molech*; nam uti hoc regem, ita *Baal* et *Beel, Bal* et *Bel* dominum significant." (De Idololatria, Lib II. cap. 6).

(154) Τον δε αυτον, ετι και νυν διαφυλασσεσθαι. (Eusebii Chronic. p. 6, See also Syncelli Chronogr.) The tradition respecting Oannes, Annedotus and other personages, half men, half fishes, who had come up from the sea to instruct and civilize men, is noticed also by Abydenus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Apollodorus, all of whom derived their information from Berosus, and are quoted by Eusebius. One of those marine monsters, according to Apollodorus, was named Ωδακων, Ωδακον. whom our learned Selden regards as the Fish-God, Dagon. (De Dis Syris, Synt. II, c. 3). See also Vossius De Idololatria. It was the opinion of some ancients that Oannes (or Oes), seemed only of a double nature, being really a man who wore the

I shall defer any inquiry whether there be not yet a third point of view in which we might regard these gems; an opportunity will soon occur, when the subject may, if necessary, be resumed; but it is not improbable that before this page shall issue from the press, all my conjectures may be rendered nugatory by the more successful researches of others.

Let us now examine a different class of gems, which may be denominated *seals*, without much risk of errour, being perfectly adapted for making impressions on clay, wax, or similar substances; all of this class that I have hitherto seen, are agates horizontally perforated in the upper part. Their most general form is expressed by No. 10. *a*, which represents, in its full size, a fine agate of that kind called Moolta stone; few, however, are so large as this(155). Although they do not offer such an ample volume of subject as those cylindrical gems above-mentioned, yet some agate

skin of a fish; (Helladius, in Photii Biblioth. Cod. 279); and Oannes appears to be the Eubuaues, who according to Hyginus (Feb. 274), came out of the sea and instructed the Chaldæans in Astrology. Sir Isaac Newton regards Oannes as a commander of the Edomites, who fled to the Persian Gulf above a thousand years before Christ; (Chronol. p. 12. ed. 1728); Vossius, Gale and Bryant suppose him to be Noah, while Jackson (Chronol I. 209), thinks it evident that he appeared almost twelve centuries before the Deluge!

(155) The *Mocha* stones are not so named from *Mocha* or *Mokha* on the Red Sea, but from the word *moss* which is used by the Saxon miners to express those spots resembling moss, that distinguish agates of this kind, as we learn from Millin's, "Dictionaire des Beaux Arts," (in *Agathe*).

seals are, we may suspect, not inferior to them in antiquity, nor less interesting from their extraordinary sculptures. More simple in device than many others and in execution more rude, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, invite, nevertheless, our attention by various particulars which, whenever thoroughly understood, may, perhaps, entitle these seals to a place among the most ancient(135). Besides No. 12, I do not recollect any gem of this description that exhibits arrow-headed or nail-headed characters, for such seem to be those strokes behind the man. But No. 13, will probably recommend itself more strongly to certain antiquaries, by its figure of a Magian who appears consulting as an oracle, or addressing as a superior being, the venerable personage, placed in a crescent, which rests upon the mystical lotos; that symbol so frequent on monuments of Egyptian and Indian mythology, yet not restricted to them, as notes and sketches made at Persepolis will hereafter evince(137).

(136) The devices of some gems have been enlarged in the plate, that they may appear the more distinctly; but lines placed under them mark the extreme length and breadth of each. The others are represented of their real dimensions; all the gems being delineated as their waxen impressions show them.

(137) The Lotos may be considered as a symbol of humid nature, or of creation from water, and its elegant form was imitated in some of the ancient Greek vases; "thus "the perfect flower of the plant was the model for the bell-shaped vase; the full or "over-blown flower is represented by the *tazza*;" I borrow this remark from a very eminent antiquary, Mr. Christie; See p. 45, of his "Disquisition upon Etruscan vases "displaying their probable connection with the shows at Eleusis;" Lond. 1806, folio; a splendid, beautiful, and learned work, distributed only in presents by the author.

Although their dates have not yet been exactly ascertained, we are enabled by a fortunate circumstance to make considerable progress in tracing back those agate seals into ages long past; I allude to the discovery of two, lately found on the plain of Marathon, where we may reasonably believe them to have remained since the memorable battle in which such multitudes of Persians fell, almost five hundred years before the Christian era. To some of those Persians they most probably belonged, and at Marathon they were purchased by Sir William Gell, in whose collection I inspected them, and through whose kindness impressions now lie before me, and have been copied in Nos. 14 and 15. These and Nos. 10, 11, 12 and 13, are of that class which the ingenious antiquary Raspe, without hesitation stiles "Persepolitan" in his "Catalogue of Tassie's Engraved Gems," wherein (Plate XI) he has delineated several; among others Nos. 656 and 657 in many respects agree with mine, numbered 10, 11, and 12. The human figure on gems of this class, he supposes to represent a Persian Priest or *Magus;* and his description of No. 656 appears so generally applicable to one of Sir William Gell's seals, (which I have marked as No. 14), that it may be here quoted; "A Priest or King "with a long beard; in a tiara and long robe; before an altar, "upon which are a hind and lance." Mr. Raspe might have added that, in the highest part of this device, is a Mithraick or winged circle; but we perceive a crescent occupying the same situation in Sir W. Gell's seal, which also exhi-

bits distinctly something of an extraordinary form, placed beside the altar and not expressed in Tassie's Gem. It appears however in mine (No. 11), and here we find the winged circle, while Nos. 10 and 12 have crescents. I suspect that a seal which Pococke found in Egypt, (See his Travels, pl. LXV. p. 215); was executed by, or perhaps, for the Persians; such was Caylus's opinion respecting some cylindrical gems discovered in Egypt. Pococke thinks that his seal may represent an astronomer, and he describes it as of "very bad workmanship;" the European engraver has not, probably, rendered its device more clear; but the bearded personage I would suppose a Magian; above him the Mithraick symbol, and opposite to him one of those extraordinary objects (already noticed on Nos. 11 and 14), which Raspe, explaining a gem of this kind in Tassie's Catalogue, (No. 657), styles a chandelier; perhaps we may dignify it with the title of a portable Fire-altar. Cylinders and agate seals like those now under consideration, are frequently dug out of the ground in Egypt, and Syria; many were lately brought from those countries by an enterprising and accomplished young traveller, William E. R. Boughton, Esq. F. R. S; and the celebrated Denon found in Egypt a fine blueish agate seal which he regarded as a monument of the Persians under Cambyses; this he obligingly showed to me with the other articles of his magnificent collection in Paris (1816); it exhibits on the flat part which should properly be applied to wax or clay, the Fish-god, or Man-fish, as on my cylinder

(No. 9); but a human figure unequivocally Egyptian is strangely sculptured on the side. Many gems bearing devices seemingly Persian are marked with Phœnician characters; the seals, however, at present before us, may be supposed originally of Persian or Babylonian workmanship. I must here remark that on some of those agates, the Magian looks from right to left.

No. 16 is an agate seal, resembling in form those above described, and found in Persia; yet possibly the work of a Phœnician artist. This may also be said of No. 17, a flat agate seal. Under the form of No. 18, *b*, seldom larger but generally smaller, and more or less widely perforated, numerous engraved gems present themselves to the antiquarian collector in Persia, and may be found also, like the cylinders and agate seals above mentioned, in Babylonia, Syria, other parts of Asia, and Egypt. No. 18. *b*, is the device on a Sardonyx delineated (of the real size) in No. 18, *a*. That this head placed between two wings may be considered as a representation of Mithra, it would, I think, be easy to demonstrate; a seal of the same form, device and substance, was brought from Egypt by Lord Valentia.

No. 19; a Chalcedony seal of the same class, with a strange device of rude execution, yet once, apparently in much esteem: for it appears on a seal found in Syria by Mr. Boughton, and on one found at Babylon by Captain Lockett,

both resembling, in almost every stroke of the graver, this which I procured at *Shíráz;* Captain Lockett's, however; and mine, want a certain appendage to the figure visible on Mr. Boughton's seal.

20. A Chalcedony seal; the Scorpion (we may suppose Zodiacal) is a common device on gems of this class.

Nos. 21 and 22, (Agates) and 23 (a hæmatite) are seals of the same form as No. 18, *a*. Nos. 24 (a Carnelion) 25 and 26, (Arabian Sardonyxes of the kind denominated *Niccolo* by Italians), are flat seals. These six gems, and at least twenty others which I have seen, exhibit combinations in which perhaps may be fancied a resemblance to the planetary symbols of Astronomers, or those marks used by Chymists in designating metals. On some we find wings not improbably Mithraick.

No. 27, a flat Carnelion seal. I possess some other ancient gems representing the Lion and Sun. This device, as the armorial ensign of Persia, must be a subject of future inquiry. No. 28, a Lion conquering a Bull; on many gems found in Persia, the same device occurs. It may allude to the vernal equinox or *naurúz* (نوروز), which from very early ages the Persians have celebrated with much solemnity and rejoicing; for, according to D'Hancarville, the lion represents the diurnal sun, and the bull the nocturnal; and this device would signify the triumph or ascendancy of the diurnal sun

at the first equinoctial season. ("Recherches," &c. Supplem. Tome II. p. 144). No. 28, is a Carnelion.

Nos. 29 and 30 (Carnelions) 31, (Crystal), and 32 (Carnelion,) exhibit monstrous forms, such as have been mentioned above; many might be added from other gems in my own collection. No. 33. Carnelion. This device, ridiculous as it is, and always most rudely executed though often on good materials, I have seen the subject of ten or twelve seals besides my own five. No. 34, Chalcedony, about half as high as No. 18, *a*, and perforated, but not widely. Devices of the same kind, or nearly similar, appear on many stones found in Persia. I possess four and have examined several others. The stones are generally full of blemishes, imperfectly shaped, and may be regarded as the rudest specimens of sigillary sculpture, if indeed the lines faintly marked on them were intended for the purpose of impression. Their claim to antiquity is, also, doubtful; yet No. 34 was found with a Sassanian medal and two or three gems certainly not less ancient.

To the silver medals, Nos. 35 and 36 a reference has been made (in pp. 117, 286); I would ascribe them to those Arsacidan or Parthian kings who reigned, nearly from the year 300 before Christ, during a space of about five centuries. Their medals with Greek inscriptions are numerous, and well known from Vaillant's "Arsacidarum Imperium,"

&c, an useful work, although not without its share of errours. But that those Monarchs coined money particularly for the use of their native subjects, we are authorized to believe; and perhaps the characters on Nos. 35 and 36, and other pieces of this class, are the oldest Persian found on medals; for I know not that any Daricks exhibit legends in cuneiform or arrow-headed writing. These Arsacidan medals are, likewise, the first that offer to our notice the sacred Fire-altar, guarded by a personage whom we may suppose the king(138).

I should have devoted one plate of this volume and an article of the Appendix, to numismatical antiquities, had not an unforeseen difficulty retarded the execution of moveable types, representing the pure *Pahlavi* characters of medals and gems; also the *Zend* and *Pahlavi* used during many centuries by the Fire-worshippers of Persia and India. Wanting such types at present, I reserve for a future part of this work, observations on many Persian medals and lettered gems; but for the sake of references concerning Fire-altars, perpendicular inscriptions found on them, the wings decorating some royal crowns, and other objects appearing on Sassanian coins, to which allusions have been or

(138) In a work of which only two hundred copies were ever published, "Observations on some Medals and Gems bearing inscriptions in the Pahlavi or Ancient "Persick character," (Lond. 1801 4to); I endeavoured to explain two bronze medals of a Parthian king, probably Bolagases or Vologeses the third.

may be made, Nos. 37, 38 and 39 are now given. Respecting the legend on No. 37, I shall here only remark that two words sufficiently indicate the king whose image it bears; Varanes, the son of Hormisdas, or, as these names may, for the present, be expressed in Hebrew letters, equivalent to the *Pahlavi*, ורהרן אהרמזד VARAHRA'N AUHORMIZDI([139]). This VARANES, or VARARANES, the first Sassanian Monarch so called, began to reign about the year 274; a gold and silver coin deciphered in my former work (Observ. on med. and gems, &c. p. 7), are probably of this king; although I have thought it possible that they belonged to Varanes the Fifth, or BAHRA'M surnamed GU'R; (See this Volume p. 139; and Vol. II. p. 47). A more convenient opportunity will hereafter occur for illustrating from various other medals, the subject of royal crowns and the wings attached to some. That the globe and wings which chiefly constitute the crown, (as on No. 37) were designed to represent the Sun, might be proved by a multiplicity of quotations. Such a crown viewed in front must remind us of the winged Mithraick circle; and in the human head placed on a Fire-altar, we may discover ORMUZD or the Divinity, existing amidst flames. Respecting No. 38, I shall only observe

([139]) In a preceding part of this Volume (p. 117,) as in a former work (Observ. on some medals and gems, &c. Adv. p iv. and p 2) I noticed our obligations to M. de Sacy, who first enabled us to decipher Sassanian inscriptions, by his *Pahlavi* alphabet, explained in Hebrew letters. (See "Memoires sur div. Antiq. de la Perse." Pl. VII. Par. 1793).

that it exhibits as a legend (of which one word, probably בה *beh*, or excellent, has been by accidental injury almost obliterated), מזדיסן ( ) שהפוהרי מלכאן מלך

Mazdiesn ( ) Shahpúhri Malkán Malk (a.)

"The (excellent) worshipper of ORMUZD, SHA'PUR, king "of kings." Three Persian Monarchs were entitled SHA'PU'R; and on several coins bearing this name, we see crowns very different from that of No. 38.

We do not find on their medals any two Sassanian kings wearing crowns exactly alike(140); each probably distinguished himself by choosing one of a particular fashion, whilst, (as we read in manuscripts now on my shelves, and to be hereafter quoted) the state crown of Persia, which descended through many generations, from its unwieldy form and excessive weight was worn only on solemn occasions; and even then, suspended over the royal throne by chains of gold(141).

(140) Their predecessors of the Parthian dynasty seem to have indulged in the same variety of crowns, as Vaillant remarks; "eas scilicet quo eadem semper ratione confectas atque ornatas; sed ad Regis cujusque libitum varie fuisse decoratas." (Arsacid. Imp. p. 330, Paris. 1728).

(141) According to some, it had been used by the *Caianians*, those who reigned during the three centuries immediately before Alexander; from others we might infer that it had been first adopted by ARDESHI'R, founder of the *Sassanian* dynasty, early in the third century after Christ. We learn that it was ornamented with a device representing the Sun, and in the time of KHUSRAU (or Chosroes) surnamed NUSHIRAVA'N, the golden chain which supported this heavy crown over that Monarch's head, were so contrived as, at a little distance, to be imperceptible.

The bird's head and wings (on No. 37), the globe, the crescent, the very disposition of the jewels, and other circumstances remarkable in Persian crowns, afford subject for ample discussion; but I hasten to close this article of *Antiques*, first observing that on most Sassanian coins, the great monarch, as one supporter of the Fire-altar, is distinguished by his own peculiar crown; thus in No. 37. The other supporter generally wears a crown, or coronet, also, but of a different form; such, we may suppose, was the *tádje* (تاج), accorded to some governors of provinces, and illustrious chiefs, besides *seven* privileged families, with the title of *malká* or *sháh*, signifying "king," whence their sovereign styled himself, not without reason, the "king of kings"(162). No. 39, shows the Fire-altar inscribed with characters, on the reverse of a Sassanian medal; the obverse shall be delineated and explained on a future occasion.

Having now examined each article comprised in Pl. XXI, I think it necessary to observe, that those Persians who find or

(162) In the Manuscript works of TABRI and of FIRDAUSI, we frequently meet those nobles under the title of *Melken* (ملکان) and *Shákán* (شاهان) "kings," and *tádje dárán* (تاجداران) "possessors of crowns." The seven chiefs hereditarily entitled under the Sassanian dynasty to golden crowns, (but smaller than the Monarch's) must be noticed in another place; they may remind a classick reader of the seven families distinguished among earlier Persians by the privilege of wearing the *Tiara* in a particular manner, (nearly as the king wore his), in commemoration of the Magophonia or slaughter of the Magian usurpers, by their ancestors. Τοὺς δὲ τοὺς Μάγους ἀπολέσαντες ἐπτὰ Πέρσαι, &c. (Plutarch. Politic. in Oper. Tom. II. p. 820. ed. Xyland. 1620, Francof).

sell the ancient gems, seem perfectly regardless of their relative beauty, their devices, or style of execution; the best are sold with the worst; and all, in general, at such low prices (whatever may be at first demanded) as would not indemnify the meanest modern artist for his labour even in fashioning the stones; I have purchased ten or twelve together at a rate not much exceeding one penny each; and have traced some to the very spots where they had been taken out of the ground. The discovery of gold or silver is necessarily attended with much mystery, and even danger; for "*har* "*ganje-mál i Sháh*" (هر گنج مال شاه) "every treasure is the king's "property;" and the bastinado has been sometimes applied to those who, having found and paid into the royal coffers, several pieces of old coin, were nevertheless suspected of retaining a few. But to ancient engraved gems, however extraordinary their devices, no value is attached; and many are defaced by the seal-cutters that they may receive the Arabian or Persian characters of modern names.

Notwithstanding the conformity above noticed (p. 426), I do not affirm that among the early Persians as among the Babylonians or Assyrians (Σφρηγὶδα ἕκαστος ἔχει, Herodot. I. 195), every man had a signet or seal. Many of the oldest writers mention seals belonging to Persian kings. It does not appear whether the טבעת of Ahasuerus (Esth. III. 12. VIII. 2. 10), which the Septuagint render δακτύλιος, "a finger-ring," was wholly of metal, or contained a gem. We know that

several of the ancients, used metal seals without gems(143). But I think it most probable that the word Σφηγὶς (or Σφρηγὶς, *Ionicè*) by which Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polyænus, and others describe the royal Persian signet, implies a gem set in metal(144). Seal-rings must have become numerous among the Persians, in course of time; for Chosroes (Khusrau Parvi'z who reigned from the year 590 to 627), had collected *six thousand* in his treasury, according to a Manuscript work of high respectability, the *Tarikh Guzidah*. The Romans had their *Dactyliothecas*, or collections of gems, as Pliny informs us(145).

That the royal Persian signets exhibited various devices we learn from the account of that with which Xerxes sealed a letter mentioned by Thucydides (Lib. I. c. 129); for the Scholiast of this Historian says that according to different

(143) "Multi nullas admittunt gemmas, auroque ipso signant." (Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 1). "Imprimebatur autem sculptura materiæ annuli, sive ex ferro, sive ex "auro foret" (Macrob. VII. 13). I purchased in Persia, for its weight of current coin, a silver seal probably very old, resembling in form No. 18, a, but not so large; it is perforated and bears the figure of a quadruped rudely engraved.

(144) Such was the celebrated σφηγὶς χρυσοδέτος of Polycrates; an emerald set in gold, according to Herodotus (III. 41); or, as Pliny relates, a ring (anulus) of which the gem was a sardonyx. (Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 1).

(145) "Gemmas plures, quod peregrino appellant nomine dactyliothecas", &c. (Nat. Hist. XXXVII. 1). About the time of Seneca and Martial the Romans wore rings (with or without gems), some on every finger; and even on every joint, as Kirchmann (De Annulis, cap. xviii) has abundantly proved. Their descendants in modern Italy seem to have inherited the taste for rings, as that excellent writer, the late Mr. Forsyth has observed, (See Remarks on Antiquities, &c. p. 264, ed. 1813.

reports, it bore the sculptured image of the king himself; or of the great Cyrus, or of the horse that contributed to obtain the crown for Darius. Another seal of the Persian Monarchs we find described by Polyænus, (Lib VIII), as displaying the portrait of Rhodogune with dishevelled hair; in which state she had, on a sudden alarm, mounted her charger, attacked and subdued the enemy (ἀναλελυμένην τὰς τρίχας Ῥοδογούνην). That the ancient kings of Persia used also golden seals inscribed with their own names, would appear from some Eastern writers; and others quote whole sentences, philosophical or moral, said to have been the legends on those royal seals, whether comprising gems or wholly of gold.

Many of the flat engraved gems found in Persia, and some of the same form as No. 18. *a*, I would refer to the Sassanian ages; but agate seals shaped like No. 10. *a*, and cylinders like Nos. 8 and 9, were executed, most probably, before Alexander became master of Persepolis or of Babylon. What the nail-headed or arrow-headed characters on many of those cylindrical gems and Babylonian bricks may signify, we shall soon, I trust, be enabled to ascertain, (See p. 419); Court de Gebelin was inclined to regard the inscriptions at Persepolis, as designed talismanically, or astrologically, for the preservation of the Persian empire(146); but

(146) "Il est même a presumer que dans une contrée aussi adonnée a l'Astronomie "que la Perse, les inscriptions a clous de Persepolis etoient destinées a fixer le salut "de l'empire par les charmes qui devoient resulter de ces inscriptions." (Monde Primitif, Tome III. p. 406).

Grotefend has declared that while most of the Persepolitan inscriptions refer to some king; the Babylonian are neither historical nor astronomical; but relate to sacred or superstitious objects, or contain magical powers efficacious against evil spirits(147).

A confidence in the virtue of talismans, whether for the protection of persons, treasures, or cities, may be traced up to the earliest ages when so many Eastern nations were of the *Sabian* faith, and adored the "host of heaven," or the celestial bodies; (See a passage concerning this ancient worship quoted in p. 413, from Sir William Jones); and notwithstanding the change of religion and the prohibition of magick, even Muhammedans can reconcile to their consciences

(147) Mines de l'Orient, Tome V. p. 227. Yet we might with reason hope that something historically important is the subject of an inscription which almost covers a stone found among the remains of Babylon, and sent by Sir Harford Jones to London, where it is now deposited in the East India House. This stone may be considered as an inestimable monument of Babylonian antiquity: its inscription, (probably the longest and most beautiful specimen of cuneiform writing yet discovered) has been accurately copied (of the original size), and engraved in ten columns, on a copper plate of which it nearly occupies a space equal to three feet nine inches by above two feet. Impressions of this valuable plate cannot be purchased in the publick shops; for that which I now possess, my thanks are due to Mr. Christie, the learned antiquary above mentioned, (p. 431), who obligingly presented to me a copy, thrown by accident into his hands. In whole words or sentences of its inscription, this admirable stone perfectly agrees with most of the large Babylonian bricks; thus on mine (Pl. XXI. No. 1), the second line is the same with the second on this stone and the characters which compose it occur in the same order elsewhere.

the preparation of certain amulets after rules transmitted through books of the Chaldæans or Nabathæans, as I shall prove in another place, from manuscripts equally rare as authentick(148).

So far was written when, a few hours since, Mr. Rich's "Second Memoir on Babylon," (with some other newly published works) reached my Cambrian retreat; and a hasty inspection enables me to add, on the authority of that ingenious writer (p. 57), "that a Babylonian cylinder was not "long ago found in digging in the field of Marathon and is "now in the possession of M. Fauvel of Athens." This and the agate seals No. 14 and 15, (Pl. XXI), are indisputable monuments of those who fought under the Persian banners, and probably fell, on that memorable field, in the year 490 before Christ. A cylinder of Mr. Rich's collection, (See his plate III. No. 11), exhibits what the sculptures at Persepolis did not offer to my view; the form of a man on horseback(149). I have already observed that women are represented on some

(148) Under the head of "Chaldaick Philosophy," our learned Stanley explains the *Sabæan*, *Zabian* or *Sabian* doctrines, and the Zoroastrian institutions of the Persians, as far as could be known from books printed before the eighteenth century; and many other eminent writers have regarded the Chaldæans, Babylonians, or Assyrians, the Nabathæans, and Persian *Magi* as nearly or altogether agreeing in the *Sabian* worship of the heavenly bodies. (See Scaliger, Stillingfleet, Hottinger, Gale, Huet, &c.

(149) The horseman on Mr. Rich's cylinder (No. 11) wields a whip exactly like that which the modern Persians use, and almost universally call by the Turkish name, *Kamchi* (قمچي); their own proper term being *Tazianeh* (تازيانه) or *Tazianeh* (تازيانه). Similar whips occur on many Egyptian monuments.

cylinders (p. 424) and that female figures have not yet been discovered, at least to my knowledge, among the marbles at Persepolis. Both women and horsemen appear on many sculptured rocks in Persia; but all that I have seen are only of the Sassanian ages; though some may be found (as at *Naksh i Rustam*) carved under or close to monuments by several hundred years more ancient, and in style of execution truly Persepolitan.

Medals, gems bearing legends, and other *antiques*, are reserved for future delineation; and here, reverting to the first figure represented in Pl. XXI, I shall observe that, on a comparison of many Babylonian and Persepolitan inscriptions, the arrow-headed or cuneiform letters, (although some learned writers have entertained a different notion), appear evidently proceeding, as in our European writings, from left to right. Reading in this direction, we shall find on the Babylonian bricks of Mr. Rich's collection, ("Sec. Mem." Pl. 111), the same series of characters contained in one line (as on Nos. 8 and 9); or regularly divided into two, (See No. 7), and continued as in French or English. I have already mentioned (p. 447), the identity of a line on my Babylonian brick (Pl. XXI. No. 1), with one on the great stone preserved in the East-India house. It may be here added, that the second, third, fourth and fifth, of the five characters comprised in the second line of that brick, form a sentence or word, perhaps a proper name, which recurs above thirty times on the stone, in different columns.

No. XIV.

Additional remarks, Corrections of errours, Omissions supplied, &c.

PAGE 15. It has been suggested by a person well acquainted with Rio de Janeiro, that he who struck the slave might have been stationed expressly to prevent crowds from assembling near the Ambassador's residence; but this argument was not urged in extenuation of that outrage by the Portuguese gentleman who witnessed it. I may add, on good authority that slaves at Rio de Janeiro, belonging to religious establishments or whose private owners are Ecclesiasticks, experience, almost invariably, much humanity and indulgence.

Page 34, note 40. The Memoir on Ceylon, which Dr. Vincent ascribed to Major Moor, was written by Mr. Joinville, (See Asiat. Res. Vol. VII. p. 397. oct. Lond. 1809).

Page 100. note 42. From the MS. *Bundehesh*, I should have given here a specimen of the *Pahlavi* characters used during many centuries by the *Gabrs* and *Parsis*, also of the ancient *Pahlavi* as it appears on medals, gems and sculptured marbles; but a difficulty respecting the moveable types (See p. 440), obliges me to reserve such specimens for another portion of my work.

Page 216. That Mallows, (the plant called *Túlah* طولہ in Persian) was dedicated to the sun, was worshipped in times of extreme danger, and was deposited in the temples as a sacred gift, we learn from Vossius (De Idololatria, p. 674, Amst. 1700) who closes his account with the opinion of Pythagoras; πρῶτον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μάλαχης φύλλον; "that the leaf of "mallows was most holy."

Page 217. Mr. Bruce, through whose assistance I found at *Búshehr* the three sepulchral urns delineated in Plate XXIII. No. 5), sent two of the same kind soon after to Mr. Erskine, who has very accurately described them in the Bombay Literary Transactions, Vol. I. art. xiv. This ingenious antiquary (p. 197) declares his opinion that "the "urns in question contained the bones of Persians whose "bodies were deposited in them while the usages described "by Herodotus, and the commentator on the *Desatêr* were "in force; before the whole of Persia was reduced to a "strict observance of the religion of Zertusht. In such "inquiries, however, there is always considerable uncertain-"ty; particularly when the inquiry relates to a country in "which there were so many obscure heresies, as there ap-"pear to have been in Persia at various æras of its history." The *Desatêr* (or دساتیر *Desátír*) an extraordinary collection of ancient Persian writings, having been illustrated with a commentary and glossary by the learned *Pársí* FI'RU'Z, (mentioned in p. 98), and translated into English, is in the press,

(according to an advertisement of December 1818) and will form two Quarto Volumes.

Page 255. 277. Since my departure from Persia the royal anger has fallen heavily on NEBI KHA'N, and reduced to equal ruin that guilty *Vazir* and many innocent members of his family.

Page 261. I have just found in a pocket-book the name of *Mallá* thus written, ملو, by some Persian fellow-traveller.

Page 338. The Theodosian or Peutingerian Table, Segm. VI. (in Bertius's Theatr. Geogr. Vet.) agrees with our Persian Map in the position of Clysma or Clisma, (*Al Culzum* القلزم), the Κλυσμα of Ptolemy.

Page 382. Respecting the sweet meat called *Gazangabin*, and the manna or honey of which it is composed, Captain Frederick has offered much curious information in the Bombay Literary Transactions Vol. I art. xvi). Manna or *angabín* is not only found on the *gaz* (گز) or tamarisk, but on other trees and shrubs. Capt. Frederick mentions one, the *gavan*; and in the MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb* (Part. I), I find it described as a dewy substance that settles on the leaves of the *gaz* or tamarisk tree, (بر برگ درخت گز می نشیند) and acquiring sweetness and consistency becomes *gazangabin* (گزانگبین). This, adds the MS. chiefly abounds in *Kurdestán;* when the manna falls on the *ballút* (بلوط) or oak tree, it contributes to the sweet

composition called *dúshúb* (دوشاب); and about *Hamadán* it settles on the *bíd* (بید) or willow; and in the territory of *Khawár* (خوار) it falls on the thorn, *khár* (خار), and is thence called *Khárangabín*; some also in autumn is found on the "surface of the sand," (بر روی ریگ).

Page 391. To the trees of miraculous celebrity may be added that "arbre fameux" which Tournefort saw at Smyrna in 1702, (Voyage du Levant. Tome II. p. 503). It had grown up ("les Grecs pretendent") from the staff of Saint Polycarp; this was the holy personage who had been a disciple of Saint John the Evangelist, not the Baptist as Tournefort (p. 505) inadvertently says; and (about 167) suffered martyrdom at Smyrna when nearly a hundred years of age. I have already mentioned (p. 392) an immense Indian tree, called *Cubeer* (or *Kubeer*) *Bur*, supposed to be three thousand years old. It appears that, "a man of great sanctity, "named *Kubeer* having cleaned his teeth, as practised in "India with a piece of stick, stuck it into the ground; that it "took root, and become what it now is." See Mr. Copland's "Account of the Cornelian Mines near Baroach;" in the Bombay Literary Transactions, (Vol. I. p. 289).

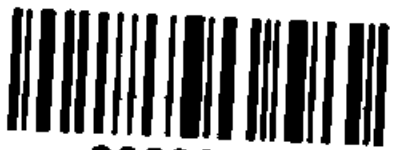
The romantick story of SUHRA'B, (See p. 99), extracted from the *Sháhnámah*, translated into English verse, and illustrated with numerous and instructive notes, by Mr. Atkinson, was published at Calcutta in 1814, (octavo).

Besides Captain Lockett's promised work on Babylon, (See p. 425), Mr. Rich in the 34th page of his Second Memoir, gives us reason to expect that Mr. Buckingham, an intelligent traveller, will soon make publick his observations on the same interesting subject. Captain Edward Frederick has already given an "Account of the present "compared with the ancient state of Babylon," from his own survey made in 1811. This account forms the ninth article in the Bombay Literary Transactions," Vol. I. On Babylon, also, the Rev. Mr. Maurice has lately published "Observations," in two parts, quarto (1816, 1818), replete, like all his former works, with ingenuity and erudition.

From the "Bombay Literary Transactions," which have commenced so auspiciously under the patronage of Sir James Mackintosh, we may anticipate much entertainment and valuable information. To this work I shall refer my reader (from p. 77) for Mr. Salt's account and his excellent delineations of the caves and sculptures at *Salsette*. The subject, also, of *Elephanta*, which I have but slightly touched in p. 81, is ably handled by Mr. Erskine, (Bomb. Trans. art. xv), who has illustrated his Memoir with Plates after accurate and beautiful drawings made by Mrs. Ashburner of Bombay. From Mr. Erskine's account it appears that part of the sculptured Elephant (which I noticed, p. 82), had fallen in September 1814, and that the remainder was in a tottering state.

The View of Elephanta is not reduced (p. 82). Kuám was sometimes pronounced and perhaps more correctly, Kavám, (p. 316). In p. 122, *(line* 2*) insert "in" after "put." In p.* 136 *(line* 8*), for "in" read "after." p.* 145, *for* PASRI′ *read* PARSI′. *p.* 160 *(line* 6*) for "word" read "world." p.* 195 *(last line but one), for "were" read "where." p.* 313 *for "acent" read "ascent." p.* 373, *(line* 7*) for "form" read "from." In the beginning of this Volume, the accents denoting long á, í and ú, in Asiatick words, have not been so regularly observed as was the author's intention.*

END OF VOL I.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